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BOTSWANA
SOUTH AFRICA
ART AGAINST APARTHEID

South African
Nobel Laureate
Desmond Tutu

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Perspective

Black Republicans are urging greater black presence in the GOP. They doom their own efforts to defeat, however, by leveling vicious attacks on black leaders for opposing President Reagan and his conservative agenda.

Republicans charge that black leaders are leading their people down a blind alley—the Democratic party. They paint the black population as sheep following a few self-anointed leaders who do not represent their interests. While this exaggeration might be flattering to the leaders—who could scarcely know they had such power—it is hardly flattering to the black populace at large.

Nor is it convincing. In a Gallup poll commissioned by the Joint Center last summer, only 14 percent of blacks were satisfied with the way things are going in the country. Some 82 percent of blacks disapproved of Mr. Reagan's job performance, and 72 percent described him as "prejudiced." Black leaders are actually closely in step with their constituents in their opposition to the current administration.

In fact, like many white leaders, they may be *following* the tides of opinion among their constituents. Harold Washington's mayoral race in Chicago grew out of a strong grass-roots political mobilization of the black community, and not the other way around. Jesse Jackson got more support initially from black ministers, community organizers, and ordinary citizens than from national black leaders.

To the extent that blacks *have* chosen to respond to these leaders, Republicans do themselves no good by denigrating their choice and telling blacks who their leaders *should* be. The Republican attacks on black leaders are, by extension, attacks on the very people to whom they are trying to appeal.

Telling blacks they have chosen the wrong leaders is not a new tactic. President-elect Reagan and Ed Meese tried it back in 1980. Mr. Reagan first refused and later reluctantly agreed to meet with the Black Leadership Forum, a coalition of major national organizations, including the NAACP, NUL, OIC, APRI, SCLC, and PUSH. Even in granting the meeting, Mr. Reagan refused to acknowledge the forum as an organization of black leaders. Instead, he sent individual invitations to each forum member. To add insult, he proclaimed that his own choice of black leaders—Ralph Abernathy, Hosea Williams, and Charles Evers—also would attend the meeting.

The meeting at Blair House followed a predictable script. The black leaders stated their concerns, and Mr. Reagan finessed them with vagueness and jokes. A few days later, Ed Meese, who had sat quietly through the Blair House meeting, proclaimed to a group of black GOP functionaries, conservative scholars, and curiosity-seekers that he had just left a meeting with "so-called" black leaders. With gusto, Mr. Meese promptly designated his audience as the new and *real* black leaders with whom the administration would consult.

Trying to go over the heads of leaders directly to the populace is an old political tradition. But in the last few years, Republicans have failed miserably in these tactics as far as blacks are concerned. And in trying to shift blame away from the administration's symbolic and substantive affronts to blacks and onto the critics of those actions, they have sunk to personal invective at its least productive. There is ample room for debate over policy issues and strategic choices by black leadership. But when EEOC Chairman Clarence Thomas charges that black leaders "have essentially disenfranchised blacks" and Civil Rights Commission Chairman Clarence Pendleton accuses them of leading black Americans to a "political Jonestown," they are not furthering that debate but confirming the image of an administration out of touch with and uncaring about the plight of blacks.

Black Republicans may have a good point when they argue that unqualified allegiance to the Democratic party is a losing strategy, but they should try to convert black leaders to that view, not deny the legitimacy of those leaders. There is no easy way to the hearts of black voters, who have been disappointed so continually in the past. As long as black leaders remain unconvinced that the administration has a product worth selling, and as long as the wholesalers beat the prospective merchants over the head, the black population will not buy.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Southern Africa

by John Burroughs

(Mr. Burroughs, formerly U.S. ambassador to Malawi, is a senior fellow at the Joint Center.)

A few weeks ago, Anglican Bishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu was awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. In making the award, the committee recognized the importance of Bishop Tutu's work in opposing the apartheid regime in South Africa. Black South Africans were, of course, ecstatic. In the black township of Soweto, singing and dancing broke out spontaneously.

Not surprisingly, the South African government all but ignored Bishop Tutu's honor. And since announcement of the award, there has been little to celebrate: violence has spread throughout many of the black townships, and observers feel it is worse and more widespread than the 1976 Soweto uprisings. The latest violence started in August after the white-minority ruled government adopted a new constitution giving limited parliamentary representation to coloreds and Asians but not to the black majority. Even such limited representation for blacks would probably stem the anger of the black population, at least temporarily, but whether the South African government will move in that direction remains to be seen.

The situation continued to worsen after South African army and police forces raided three black townships outside Johannesburg in October. House-to-house searches were conducted to eliminate what the South African government termed "revolutionary elements." On November 13, South African troops raided another black township (Tembisa) about 20 miles east of Johannesburg; 50 people were arrested. These incidents are probably only the first skirmishes in a long-term period of unrest that will affect the entire region.

The struggle against apartheid, and the South African government's resistance to that struggle, have implications far beyond the borders of South Africa. The peaceful abolition of the apartheid system and the political inclusion of all South Africans represent the only hope for regional security and economic development of neighboring black independent African nations. While no formal diplomatic ties exist between South Africa and most of its neighbors, trade, commercial, and other arrangements have existed for years, and the economic growth of these nations is very much dependent on the actions of the South African government.

Two Examples

Mozambique is one of these neighbors. Until 10 years ago, the country was a Portuguese colony. In 1962, several Mozambican political groups came together to form the Front for Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), which began an armed campaign against the Portuguese in 1964. After 10 years of sporadic warfare, Mozambique became independent on June 25, 1975. Today, Mozambique is a one-party Marxist-Leninist state in which the People's Assembly is the supreme organ of state power. With its ports on the Indian Ocean, Mozambique is the key to improving the transportation of goods throughout the entire region.

Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, has been designated as headquarters for the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Conference (SATCC) within the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). The main purpose of SADCC is to lessen black Africa's dependence on South Africa for transportation and communications. Some 97 projects in the areas of transportation and communications have been identified, and funding arrangements are being worked out. The Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, Canada, Italy, and Portugal have shown great interest in participating in these programs. The most important of these projects is the rehabilitation and development of facilities at Mozambique's three ports on the Indian Ocean and rail lines linking these ports to neighboring countries.

The country's economic development has been stymied, however, by forces opposed to the leftist government. These forces are allegedly supported by South Africa, although the South African government has denied involvement. The armed insurgency, known as the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO), has attacked government installations, frequently disrupting internal rail and road transport and sabotaging Mozambique's links with neighboring countries such as Malawi and Zimbabwe. The guerrillas have created a climate of insecurity, blocked internationally sponsored projects, and often prevented the distribution of food supplies to drought-stricken areas. Last March, Mozambique and South Africa signed a non-aggression pact, which may eventually lead to the cessation of hostilities and permit the earnest development of Mozambique's tremendous potential. But so far, RENAMO has not ended its attacks.

Malawi, which borders Mozambique on the north, is a tiny nation about the size of Pennsylvania. With no outlet to the sea, it is completely dependent upon neighboring countries, especially Mozambique, to provide transportation facilities to and from ocean ports. Guerrilla activity in Mozambique has forced Malawi to truck its goods long distances through Zambia and Zimbabwe, a more expensive and less practical alternative that costs the country $30 million per year. This drain on the nation's capital has led to severe shortages of essential imports, e.g., fuel and fertilizer.

Common Problems

Even without the cross-border conflicts, dire economic conditions would impede the development of young nations in the region. High interest rates here in the United States have dried up investment capital, making imported goods more difficult to afford and further complicating the balance of payments problem for developing countries. Moreover, domestic factors such as the growth of public debt, large budget deficits, and a lackluster performance by national economies—which are usually government-controlled—have exacerbated the negative impact of external economic conditions, bringing many African economies to the brink of collapse.

But these economic problems are compounded by the political—and geopolitical—problems stemming from the oppressive regime in South Africa. No country in southern Africa will thrive until these problems are resolved. This is the wider implication of Nobel Laureate Desmond M. Tutu's movement for peaceful social change.

Election '84: A JCPS Forum

On November 14, the Joint Center for Political Studies presented a public policy forum on "Blacks and the 1984 Elections." Held on Capitol Hill, this meeting brought together three expert observers of electoral politics to answer such questions as "What was the black voter turnout?" "How did black candidates fare in state and local races?" and "What was the impact of the black electorate nationwide?"

Through discussion of these and related issues, the participants in this forum detailed the post-election political realities for black Americans—realities that must be confronted by political leaders as they plot strategies for the future. The articles that follow are edited versions of the three speakers' remarks.

Election Round-Up

by Thomas E. Cavanagh

(Mr. Cavanagh is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

After the excitement and high hopes inspired by the Jesse Jackson campaign and the nationwide registration gains of the past year, the November elections were not only anticlimactic for much of black America—they were downright disappointing.

Despite the opposition of 89 percent of blacks nationwide, Ronald Reagan coasted to a landslide victory. Membership in the Congressional Black Caucus declined by one. And the number of black state legislators rose by only three.

Registration and Turnout

Black turnout appears to have increased. According to preliminary estimates by the Voter Education Project, black turnout in the South swelled by 740,000 over the 1980 level, an increase of 5.3 percent. But this gain was considerably smaller than the black registration increase of 1,324,000, or 10.2 percent, in the South since 1980. And with the exception of major urban centers such as Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York, which recorded sizeable gains in black turnout, the participation of blacks *outside* the South may not have increased much from 1980.

Voter turnout for the country as a whole went up by only 0.3 percent (from 52.6 to 52.9 percent), according to the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. Thus, the minority community did account for a disproportionate share of this year's newly mobilized voters. The CBS-*New York Times* exit poll found that 12 percent of black voters and 15 percent of Hispanic voters were casting ballots for the first time, compared to only 8 percent of white voters. The participation of first-time black voters, however, may have been partially offset by previously registered blacks who sat out this year's election.

In the black community, the presidential race generated little enthusiasm for either candidate. President Reagan's policies were widely unpopular, while Democratic nominee Walter Mondale devoted relatively little attention to black concerns on such issues as unemployment, civil rights, helping the poor, and South Africa. Mondale's focus on such issues as the deficit and the "star wars" defense proposal left many of the Democrats' traditional constituencies bewildered, and blacks were no exception.

The widespread expectations of a Republican avalanche in the presidential race may have further dampened black spirits at the grass-roots level. Earlier in the year, it was thought that black registration gains could help tip the balance toward the Democrats in the Electoral College. Although these gains did indeed materialize, they were counterbalanced by registration of suburbanites, military personnel, Christian fundamentalists, and other Republican target groups. As a result, Republicans won the registration race: first-time voters as a whole went for Reagan by 60 to 39 percent, according the the CBS-*New York Times* survey.

The Impact of Black Voters

The arithmetic proved to be more favorable to black interests in some key congressional contests. Black voters were pivotal in three Senate races: the successful reelection bids of Democrats Howell Heflin of Alabama and Carl Levin of Michigan, and Democrat Paul Simon's defeat of Republican incumbent Charles Percy of Illinois. In each case, the defeated Republican candidate carried a majority of the white vote, but the black vote went so heavily for the Democrat that it provided the margin of victory.

On the House side, blacks provided the crucial margin in at least seven races. In North Carolina, Democrats Steve Neal in the 5th district (Winston-Salem) and Bill Hefner in the 8th (Salisbury) won narrowly, thanks to the black vote. Three other southern Democrats, who were first elected by bare margins with strong black support, won comfortably this year thanks to that support: Ben Erdreich in Alabama, Wayne Dowdy in Mississippi, and Robin Tallon in South Carolina. Although each won by 12 percentage points or more, all three would have lost without the cushion provided by black voters. And though blacks wield only a small share of the vote in the districts represented by Bruce Morrison of Connecticut and Jim Jones of Oklahoma, neither man could have held his seat without the support of black voters.

Black Candidates

One of the prime goals of Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign was to encourage blacks to seek office at all levels of government. Although many blacks sought congressional nominations in both parties, one incumbent suffered a primary defeat (Katie Hall in Indiana), and none of the challengers was elected in November. There was one bright spot for the Congressional Black Caucus, though: the incumbents who were renominated all won easily. Freshman Democrat Alan Wheat of Missouri carried his district by a two-to-one vote, even though its electorate is only 20 percent black.

The only black challenger who came close to victory was Robert Clark, who lost narrowly for the second time to Republican Congressman Webb Franklin in the Mississippi Delta. Redistricting had increased the black share of the vote from 48 to 53 percent. Thanks to Franklin's well-funded campaign, however, and an intensive registration drive among whites, more whites than blacks ended up voting on election day, and the whites voted overwhelmingly for Franklin.

The number of black state legislators rose by 3, to 376. Given the Jackson campaign's emphasis on

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building at the grass roots, this modest result is somewhat puzzling. Among the possible explanations:

- There were no state legislative elections in Alabama, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, or Virginia, all states with large contingents of black elected officials.
- The disappointing black turnout in many areas may have thwarted the hopes of local black candidates.
- The Reagan landslide clearly produced Republican state legislative victories in such southern states as Florida and Texas, lessening the prospects of black Democrats.
- Black incumbents may already be serving in most of the black-majority districts, making future gains more difficult to achieve.

Of the 260 blacks elected to state legislatures in November, only three were Republicans. Perhaps more interesting was the regional variation in candidates' race and party affiliation. In such northern states as Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, the Republicans fielded almost as many black state legislative candidates as the Democrats. But only 9 black Republicans were nominated in the South, as opposed to 114 blacks running on the Democratic ticket. The regional difference suggests that the GOP may be pursuing a two-track strategy with black candidates: grooming them to compete in heavily black districts in the North, while building a predominantly white party in the South.

Race and Southern Politics

Racial polarization showed up clearly in the southern exit poll results. The CBS - New York Times survey found southern whites favoring Reagan by 72 to 28 percent, while southern blacks supported Mondale by 89 to 9 percent. The disparity was even greater in Alabama and Mississippi, where Reagan's white support topped 80 percent. The media have reacted to these data by suggesting a "white flight" from the Democratic party in the South in response to more visible black participation. It would be a mistake, though, to conclude that racial antipathy is the sole cause of the Republican leanings of southern whites.

The current voting alignment has ample precedent. Indeed, a Gallup poll found only 20 percent of southern whites supporting Democratic presidential nominees Hubert Humphrey in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972. On the other hand, in the 1976 presidential election, and again in the 1982 midterms, a populist coalition of blacks and blue-collar whites rebounded to dominate southern politics. Thus, as issues change and evolve over time, so do the voting patterns of southern whites.

The Joint Center's Gallup study (see September *Focus*) found no sharply hostile reaction to the Jackson campaign among southern whites. Jackson's endorsement made 19 percent of southern whites less likely to vote for Mondale, and 8 percent more likely. Many of the whites responding negatively to Jackson would probably have voted against Mondale for other reasons having little to do with race.

Ever since Reagan entered the White House, southern whites have consistently provided one of his strongest cores of support. The Gallup survey showed that 73 percent of southern whites considered Reagan a strong leader, 62 percent approved of his performance overall, and 53 percent approved of his stand toward the Soviet Union, suggesting that "standing tall for America" plays well in the South. In each case, the figure for southern whites exceeds the figure for the national electorate by a considerable margin.

Moreover, the class polarization engendered by Reagan's economic policies is magnified in the South because the gap between black and white income levels is greater there than it is in the rest of the country. While 57 percent of southern whites approve of Reagan's economic performance, and 49 percent consider themselves better off financially since 1980, 87 percent of southern blacks *disapprove* of Reagan's economic performance, and southern blacks feel *worse off* financially by a margin of 42 to 33 percent.

Not only was Reagan generally popular with southern whites; Mondale was generally unpopular in his own right. By 46 to 36 percent, southern whites thought he was *not* a strong leader. Fully 54 percent thought he "owes a lot of political favors," a means of gauging the significance of the "special interest" label. Interestingly, when asked to specify groups having "too much influence" over national policy, 59 percent cited labor leaders, far ahead of the 30 percent of southern whites who singled out blacks. Ferraro's nomination also cost Mondale some support in the South.

There was, to be sure, a racial component in the vote of southern whites. They opposed preferential treatment for black job applicants by a huge margin of 77 to 5 percent, and approved of Reagan's civil rights policies by 52 to 26 percent. Nevertheless, a careful reading of the survey results indicates that race was by no means the only factor influencing the votes of southern whites this year, and it was probably not even the most important factor. The argument that black participation is crippling the Democrats' ability to appeal to southern whites is simply not supported by the available data. For the Democrats to abandon a constituency that provides between one-third and one-half of their votes in the southern states to satisfy what some have called "the revenge of the white male" would be a foolhardy strategy.

Both parties are clearly nervous about the current state of southern politics. While Democrats cannot win if they cede 70 percent or more of the white vote, neither can the Republicans hope to maintain this percentage for any length of time. Such an outcome would require transcendance of the very real class differences among southern whites, differences that are sharpening over time as the region's urban areas continue to modernize and develop. Southern Republicans such as Senators Thad Cochran of Mississippi and John Warner of Virginia put considerable effort into cultivating the black vote this year, if for no other reason than to provide insurance against the loss of blue-collar whites. Such a strategy may become more common as southern Republicans attempt to distance themselves from a lame-duck President Reagan in preparation for the 1986 midterm elections.

Next Steps

Where does black politics go from here? Reviewing the events of the past few years, the most dramatic black political victories have tended to come at the

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local, rather than the national level. A great deal of networking occurred because of the Jackson campaign this year, and the card files, mailing lists, and personal ties forged through that effort are sure to be of use in countless municipal and congressional campaigns over the months and years to come. Jackson's own organization, the National Rainbow Coalition, Inc., is beginning to take root in the form of local chapters and will bear watching as a new organizational base for black political activity.

There may also be renewed interest in exploring the possibilities for leverage within the post-Reagan Republican party. On the Democratic side, the deliberations of the Fairness Commission will give the first concrete indications of potential black influence in the 1988 delegate selection process. And finally, there will likely be a round of black leadership meetings to plot strategy for the future. Although black influence may have been limited in the 1984 presidential contest, the winds of change are blowing through both parties, and the black vote is something neither party can afford to ignore for very long.

What Realignment?

by Warren Miller

(Mr. Miller is a professor of Political Science at Arizona State University.)

Both political parties face imminent crises of leadership. The Democrats have seen the weakening of the Roosevelt legacy through a number of elections, and Mr. Mondale's defeat, I believe, signals the end of that lineage. The party now lacks a clearly defined internal establishment that will select the party leadership in years to come.

The problem within the Republican ranks is equally severe. The struggle for dominance within the Republican party has evolved from the days when the Tom Deweys and Herbert Brownells led a liberal Eastern establishment against the conservative Midwestern bloc of the Robert Tafts and John Brickers. What we have now is the party of Goldwater and Reagan, and Republicans fail to recognize the need to identify new standard bearers because they mistake Mr. Reagan's personal triumph for blanket approval of their own political perspective.

While they share the problem of leadership, the two parties are much further apart now than they have been for the past 30 years.

Although much has been said about the uniqueness of those who gathered in Miami to nominate George McGovern in 1972, my own study of national convention delegates—the real activists in presidential campaign politics—suggests that the delegates of 1976 and 1980 were not appreciably more conservative than their immediate predecessors. In other words, the Democratic party remains a very liberal party.

The Republicans, on the other hand, have become even more conservative, a shift symbolized by the performance of their platform committee in Dallas. This wider separation of the two parties must be kept in mind when discussing particular political issues or problems because it is in this context that these matters will be resolved.

A Mandate for Republicans?

Much will be made of the presumed rightward shift in the wake of Ronald Reagan's landslide victory. Mr. Reagan—along with his supporters and spokespersons—will do what any reasonable, self-respecting politician would do: he will claim a mandate. Whether he has one is, I think, a different question.

I suspect that, if there was a shift, it was largely semantic, having more to do with the acceptability of calling oneself a conservative than with any change in public attitudes toward public policy questions. It is, of course, the business of politicians and statesmen—and of those who report and analyze politics for mass consumption—to act as though sea changes occur with every election. Those of us who study politics more closely understand the slow, almost glacial pace of real change.

One of the things we will be looking for over the next few years—and it will take that long, I think, to come to real conclusions about the '84 elections—is evidence of an ideological mandate. In the meantime, activists will claim or deny such a mandate, and there will be a dispute over whether a political realignment has occurred.

I predict we will find that very little has changed in the basic contours of Democratic and Republican partisanship. There may be a one- or two-point gain for Republicans, just as the Democrats gained one or two points after the 1964 elections. But this will probably disappear by 1986, and we will then conclude that this election did not change us from a nation that is fundamentally Democratic to one that is Republican.

Because the data indicate that the president simply won a popularity contest on November 6, it is a mistake to draw inferences about the policy preferences of the nation from this. The new Congress, I believe, will reflect the fact that policy preferences of the American people have not changed markedly.

Racial Polarization

An increase in racial polarization is another supposed change that many observers have commented on. It is entirely appropriate that we concern ourselves with this question, but if one measures racial polarization in terms of the difference between the proportion of whites who voted Democratic and the proportion of blacks who voted Democratic, one finds that it has changed little.

In 1984, the difference between the 89 percent Democratic vote from the black electorate and the 35 percent Democratic vote from the white electorate was 54 percentage points. What was the gap in 1980? Four years ago, the gap was *56 points*. It means little that 56 is larger than 54, but it *is* significant that racial polarization is no greater now than it was in 1980.

In 1976, after Jimmy Carter's election, the same polarization measure yielded a 48 point difference. In 1972, the difference was 57 points, and in 1968, 56 points. These numbers show us that from the time Lyndon Johnson and a Democratic Congress passed and implemented the Voting Rights Act, the degree

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Telescope

Barker and Maynard Join JCPS Board

The Joint Center for Political Studies has appointed two new members to its board of governors: Lucius Jefferson Barker and Robert C. Maynard.

Lucius Jefferson Barker is Edna F. Gellhorn University Professor of Public Affairs and professor and chairperson, Department of Political Science, at Washington University in St. Louis. Dr. Barker has taught extensively at universities in the United States; his most recent teaching position prior to joining the faculty of Washington University was professor of political science at the University of Illinois, where he also served as assistant chancellor. The author of numerous publications on politics and law, Dr. Barker's latest book, of which he is co-author, is *Civil Liberties and the Constitution: Cases and Commentaries*, published by Prentice-Hall. He has been a member of the editorial boards of the *American Journal of Political Science* and the *American Political Science Review*.

Robert C. Maynard is publisher and president of the *Oakland Tribune*. He is also founder and past chairman of the Institute for Journalism Education. Mr. Maynard has been a member of the editorial board of the *Washington Post*, where he was on the staff from 1967 to 1977. He currently serves on several boards including those of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Foundation for American Communications.

Fifteen Years Ago . . . Rural Alabama Revisited

In 1958 and 1968, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held investigative hearings in 16 counties in Alabama and found that "blacks suffered from discrimination and segregation in every facet of life." The commission returned to Alabama in 1982 and conducted field examinations in 6 of the original 16 counties, believing that events since 1968 (e.g., court orders to desegregate the schools, improved federal aid) should have improved conditions for blacks. *Fifteen Years Ago . . . Rural Alabama Revisited*, published by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, summarizes what they found.

According to the commission, while institutional segregation appeared to have been wiped out by 1982, a more subtle type of discrimination has evolved. For example, in those counties in Alabama where blacks are in the majority and have gained political control as a result of the Voting Rights Act, whites still controlled the major financial institutions and businesses, preventing blacks from entering the economic mainstream. The Civil Rights Commission also found that whites had withdrawn from the public schools and other institutions controlled by blacks, sending their children to private academies. In fact, whites had completely separated themselves from blacks in most aspects of life—business, industry, health care—often resulting in inferior conditions and services for blacks. Any improvements in the conditions for blacks in these counties since 1968 appear to have been the result of federal assistance and programs. Thus the commission believes that when black communities are heavily dependent on federal assistance, "these programs should be enhanced, not eliminated or weakened."

Fifteen Years Ago (Clearinghouse Publication Number 82) was authored by the previous Civil Rights Commission, under the direction of Thomas R. Watson, Project Director.

New JCPS Senior Fellow

John A. Burroughs, former deputy assistant secretary for Equal Employment Opportunity in the U.S. Department of State, has been selected to participate in the Joint Center's Senior Fellows Program. Burroughs served most recently as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Malawi. In 1980, he was awarded the State Department's Superior Service Award for his efforts in increasing the number of minorities and women in the Foreign Service Officer Corps. From 1970 to 1977, Burroughs served as special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs.

Two Federal Buildings Named for Blacks

For the first time, two federal buildings in the United States have been named after blacks.

The main post office building in Houston, Texas, has been named after Barbara C. Jordan, the first black congresswoman from the South. The House of Representatives adopted the resolution, sponsored by Mickey Leland (D-TX), to designate the building in honor of Ms. Jordan in June and the building was named on August 27.

A life-long resident of Texas, Ms. Jordan currently serves on the faculty of the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. She was a guest of honor at the Joint Center's seventh annual dinner.

Before adjourning in October, the 98th Congress also passed a bill to name the new multimillion dollar federal building in Jackson, Mississippi, after Dr. A. H. McCoy, who worked on behalf of poor people and black businesses in Jackson. The building is located in the oldest black business district in the United States, according to the citizen's committee that helped organize the campaign on behalf of Dr. McCoy. Dr. McCoy owned and developed much of the property in that district, including the building in which he practiced dental surgery for nearly 40 years. That building was located on a portion of the site now occupied by the new federal building. Dr. McCoy died in April 1970 at the age of 66.

JCPS EIGHTH ANNUAL DINNER

Mark Your Calendar:

The Joint Center's Eighth Annual Dinner will be held on Wednesday, March 21, at the Washington Hilton Hotel. Clifton C. Garvin, Jr., Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Exxon Corporation, is the National Chairman this year. More details in January . . .

Election '84 (continued)

Black Politics: Clout and Symbolism

Lucius Barker

(Mr. Barker is chairman of the political science department at Washington University in St. Louis.)

In 1984, Ronald Reagan drew a significantly greater share of the white vote than he did in 1980—67 percent, up from 55 percent. An increase in voter turnout among the president's white supporters explains some of this change, and preliminary findings from a Washington University Ph.D. dissertation on voter mobilization help explain the increase in turnout.

This research shows that personal contacts with registered voters increase turnout by 25 percent on average, regardless of the voters' race, education, or income. Yet these contacts have little influence on *how* people vote, so the logical approach for each party is to target its natural constituency. But the Democrats did not do this; like Republicans, they focused on the wealthy, paying less attention to working class, low-income, and poorly educated voters.

Although this strategy worked well for Republicans, it probably cost the Democrats some votes among their traditional supporters—especially blacks—who would have voted in greater numbers if they had been contacted.

This perceived slight, along with Mondale's landslide loss despite 89 percent of the black vote, has prompted some observers to suggest that blacks split their support between the two parties in future elections. They argue that the traditional and overwhelming support of blacks allows Democratic candidates to take them for granted and Republicans to ignore them. Nevertheless, this suggestion will remain meritless until it is accompanied both by concrete evidence that the interests of minorities would be better served by such a switch and by symbolic actions on the part of Republicans to show respect for black concerns. At present, there is little to indicate that the Republican party will soon become more attractive to blacks.

Jesse Jackson himself was a master at mixing electoral might and symbolism. In his campaign, he shrewdly developed his own political power, but he also used symbols effectively. His mere entry into the race occasioned a reevaluation of certain cherished myths about this country.

Jesse Jackson challenged Americans to live up to the ideals expressed in the statements that any person can become president and that all persons deserve an equal opportunity to reach their full potential. He also questioned some long-standing features of the political process. Among them: voter registration procedures, runoff primaries, at-large elections, and other schemes that he believes limit blacks' political influence and participation. Undoubtedly, many Americans would prefer that Jesse Jackson simply play by the established rules, but to do so would negate the important symbolism inherent in his actions.

He reminds the nation in a dramatic way of its unfulfilled commitment to the goals of civil rights law. This message transcends party politics and individual leaders, which explains how Jackson manages to garner enviable support from an overwhelming majority of black Americans.

Both Democratic and Republican leaders could learn important lessons from the Reverend Jackson. And other black leaders may find that they, too, can wield influence disproportionate to their representation in the population by combining symbols and clout effectively. In fact, they must do this if blacks are to maintain a role in the political life of this nation.

What Realignment?

(Continued from page 6)

of racial polarization has remained relatively constant.

It is quite incorrect, therefore, to characterize the election results in terms of a sudden white flight from the Democratic party. If we are going to understand what the voters had in mind, we must recognize the broader context involved in national electoral decision making. And the context here is a society with a decades-long history of extreme polarization along racial lines. The Democratic leadership must deal with this situation, but it should not interpret the 1984 election results as a new directive to ignore black America in exchange for white support.

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FOCUS

MINORITIES AND MILITARY RECRUITMENT

Will the military's solutions to recruiting problems shut out minority candidates?

THE URBAN COMMUTER

Blacks rely on public transportation for the journey to work much more heavily than whites-regardless of income, automobile ownership or direction of travel.

The Joint Center invites applications for its Distinguished Scholars Program.

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Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

I neither can nor will recant anything, since it is neither right nor safe to act against conscience. Here I stand. I can do no other.

Martin Luther, the devout and controversial German churchman, chose these words for his own epitaph. The spirit they express characterizes another Martin Luther as well—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. whose birth we celebrate this month. Dr. King, too, stood his ground, and he could do no other in the struggle against bigotry and injustice. Clear vision, courage, and determination were the hallmarks of his life.

We can all gain strength from his courage, first observed in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 and seen last in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968. That thirteen year span changed and continues to change the life of our nation. We owe Dr. King thanks for his victories on so many fronts: the Montgomery bus boycott; the right to public accommodations; voting rights; and equal employment opportunity.

I am especially grateful to Dr. King for the political legacy he left. His memory challenges each of us to pursue equal justice through the power of politics, and calls upon those who can to wield the force of public office in the service of this same goal. It challenges us to believe, and to *behave* as if we believed, one of his dearest tenets: that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." Dr. King recognized, as others before him had, that in America political participation is the shortest road to power-sharing and to improvement of the human condition.

He envisioned a nonviolent "revolution of values" driven by direct political action "powerful enough, dramatic enough, morally appealing enough, so that people of good will, churches, labor, liberals, intellectuals, students, poor people themselves would begin to put pressure on congressmen" to achieve the goals of a just society. This strategy is as old as America and as American as apple pie; what is new is its use to pursue the hopes and aspirations of black people.

Martin Luther King gave focus and leadership to the struggle for political empowerment. Whether the cause was education, food, jobs, or the right to sit in a restaurant or take any seat on a bus, the objective was always the same: to achieve true equality and justice; to be heard, respected, and taken seriously; to sit in the legislative and executive chambers and take part in the decisions about who gets what, when, and how in our society. And Dr. King knew well the difference between simply writing new laws into the books and implementing them. Implementation was clearly his goal and the goal to which he wanted black people to direct their political activity.

Since he died, Dr. King's dream has begun to become reality. Street politics has moved indoors—into Congress, into state houses, into city halls. Every year since Dr. King's death the number of black elected officials nationwide has risen. No, the civil rights movement he breathed so much life into has not died. Its leaders are *sitting in*—as elected officials—at meetings of other elected officials, and they are *marching*—as executives—into executive suites.

These changes are occurring too slowly, and worry and unease still shadow the lives of blacks and the poor generally. Too many black people still live on the economic margin of existence; the nation continues to waste talent through prejudice and discrimination; and we are required still to fight continually for quality education. We have yet to reach the promised land described so eloquently by Dr. King, but perseverence and the splendid example of his leadership have delivered us to this station from which we cannot turn back.

So I celebrate the birth of Martin Luther King, the human catalyst for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, with a plea for aggressive political participation. I ask this not only to honor Dr. King and the legacy he left us, but because it represents the most effective method of empowering the disadvantaged and giving voice to the voiceless. Each of us must be willing to say—as Martin Luther said in his epitaph and Dr. King in his actions—"Here I stand. I can do no other."

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Minorities and Military Recruitment

by James R. Daugherty

(Colonel Daugherty is a senior fellow at the Joint Center on a one-year assignment from the U.S. Army under an on-going agreement between JCPS and the U.S. Department of Defense.)

"The All-Volunteer Force will continue to work well if it is properly supported,"

according to the Military Manpower Task Force, which reported to the president in November 1982 on the status and prospects of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF). Chaired by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, the group analyzed the ability of the nation to sustain an able fighting force through 1987. Its predictions were extremely optimistic; in fact, only in an appendix did it acknowledge the recruiting problems posed by the declining youth population, the economic recovery, and the implementation of a plan, now under consideration, to increase the size of the Armed Forces.

These problems, however, are imminent. Recent success in recruiting was made possible primarily by the largest pool of candidates in history. In 1979, there were more 18-year-olds than at any time before, but now the baby boom has moved beyond the 18-to-21-year-old age group. In 1995, there will be four million fewer people in that age group than in 1981. Even if annual recruit requirements remain the same as in 1984, the armed forces will have to recruit some 55 percent of the qualified and available male population to fill its ranks (see table). This is a significant increase over the 42 percent needed in 1981.

These recruiting problems have distinct racial implications—as do the measures being considered to solve them. At present, minorities make up 26 percent of our 2.1 million member active duty force—a disproportionate representation attributable largely to limited opportunities for minority youth in the private sector. Nineteen percent of the active duty force is black. The effect on minorities of future military manpower policies, therefore, deserves serious attention, especially since the military is an important avenue of advancement for a group that suffers extremely high unemployment rates.

One interesting statistic: as the number of 18-to-21 year olds falls between now and 1995, the proportion of minorities within this group will rise from 16.6 to 19.4 percent. Thus the proportion of minorities in the military's recruitment pool will be greater, making it likely—all other things being equal—that minority representation in the service will also increase.

Other developments, though, may reduce the proportion of minorities in the military, and these trends must be dealt with as the services strive to meet their recruitment goals. To be sure, providing more openings for those who prefer military careers does not eliminate the need to increase opportunities in the society at large so young blacks do not regard the armed forces as their sole option. But this is the subject of another article; here, we are concerned with the effect on minorities of the military recruiting problems over the next few decades.

The Effects of Long-Term Trends

A continuing economic recovery would increase military opportunities for minorities. Current economic indicators point to a long-term decline in unemployment. As unemployment rates drop, white youths become less inclined to volunteer for military service (their prospects in the civilian economy improve more rapidly than those of minorities). The result is a corresponding increase in opportunity for minorities in the military.

Increasing competition from colleges for recent high school graduates could also increase military opportunities for minorities. Colleges vie for the same cohort as the military and will be hard-pressed to fill their classrooms as the number of young people declines. To maintain enrollment, colleges will make strenuous efforts to attract students. Many minority youth will benefit from this increased attention, but whites may be more likely to answer the call from higher education. By removing whites from the available manpower pool, colleges' efforts will increase the military's reliance on minority recruits.

Stricter qualification requirements, on the other hand, would lessen military opportunities for minorities. We all know of the unprecedented modernization of the armed forces and the introduction of sophisticated new weapons systems. This modernization has brought about a shift from work requiring general skills to jobs requiring special expertise in computer electronics, medical technology, and other fields. It is estimated that the Air Force will need one-third more recruits by the end of the century with high aptitudes for electronics skills. By 1986, Navy "semi-technical" positions are expected to increase by 13 percent over 1981, "techinical" positions by 16 percent, and "highly technical" jobs by 31 percent. Army futures are being studied. And these trends are likely to accelerate.

As the roster of technical jobs grows, the pool of youth scoring sufficiently high on technical tests may not meet the demand. Furthermore, minorities as a group currently score lower on entrance tests than whites, particularly in qualifying tests for technical training. The *Profile of American Youth* report showed that while 78 percent of white youths score in categories I, II, and III on the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT), only 28 percent of blacks and 41 percent of Hispanics did. Should the services recruit from these categories only, 72 percent of blacks would be excluded. Congress has mandated that not more than 20 percent of enlistees be from category IV; in 1984, 7 percent came from this category. Any raising of entrance standards or increase in high-tech jobs (and corresponding decrease in other jobs) will reduce the qualified minority population more sharply than the qualified white population.

Just as these societal trends will affect blacks and whites differently, so too will the options being considered by the military to maintain its recruiting ability.

Possible Solutions

In *American Volunteer Military: Progress and Prospects,* Martin Binkin, an expert on defense policy at the Brookings Institution, suggests several ways to prevent recruitment shortages in the face of shifting demographic and economic trends. Among the options he discusses:

- spend more money on compensation and recruiting;

- turn over more military jobs to civilians;
- increase the role and numbers of women; and
- lower entry standards.

Each of these options is workable, but their different effects on the racial composition of the armed forces should be considered.

Compensation and recruiting monies attract whites. The Military Manpower Task Force regards compensation equal to that in the private sector as vital to the success of the All-Volunteer Force. They urge pay and allowance, selective bonus, and education packages to attract the best candidates. Although minorities would benefit from these enticements, they will enlist at high levels without them. The qualified minority manpower pool has already been heavily recruited: 46 percent of eligible minority males are now in the military. On the other hand, only 16 percent of qualified white youth are in the service, so the greatest effect of increased compensation and recruiting funds would be to attract more whites.

Turning over military jobs to civilians takes military jobs from minorities. As the number of candidates for recruitment declines, some military jobs could be given over to the civilian work force. The jobs most appropriate for transfer are in service support fields, such as administration, maintenance, supply, food service, and transportation—the very fields in which minorities are highly concentrated. In the Army, for example, where blacks are 31.3 percent of all service people, they are overrepresented in such fields as administration (42 percent), food service (43 percent), petroleum handling (58 percent) and supply (52 percent). Such a change would not reduce the total number of jobs in the military—personnel strength would be shifted to other fields—but it would reduce the number of military jobs for which minorities qualify. A portion of the transferred jobs would probably go to black civilians, but the removal from the military of so many occupations traditionally held by minorities might make it more difficult for young blacks to find a place in the armed services.

As the proportion of women increases, the overall proportion of racial minorities decreases. It is widely acknowledged that women were the saving grace of the AVF in the 1970s. They may be again. Any increase in the military role of women, however, could significantly reduce the number of black men eligible for recruitment. White women generally outscore black men on military qualifying tests, so active recruitment of 18-to-21-year-old women—who have not been sought out in great numbers up to now—would probably displace many black men. In addition, women tend to compete for the same service support slots as minorities.

As the female population in the service increases, though, the proportion of minority women increases at an even faster rate. Of the 196,000 women now in the military (9.3 percent of the total), 32.4 percent are minorities. Seven years ago (1978) this figure was 24.7 percent. Thus, an increased reliance on women could increase opportunities for black women while decreasing them for black men.

Lowering entry standards increases minority opportunities. Should the number of new recruits fall precipitously and the country be unprepared to support conscription, the services may be forced to lower their entry standards as they did in the 1970s. Lowering these standards would allow recruitment of many minority candidates who now fall below the cut-off line, thereby increasing the proportional representation of minorities.

Binkin concludes that if the shrinking of the youth population coincides with a demand for a substantially larger or more skilled military force, the armed forces would have to recruit an extremely high percentage of qualified candidates. Adjusting military pay or tinkering with manpower policies probably could not prevent serious recruitment shortfalls. Binkin argues that unless America is willing to support the draft, expansion of the armed forces or development of more complicated weapons may be imprudent. "Otherwise," he writes, "the United States could end up fielding military forces in the 1990s whose effectiveness would depend on a military draft, only to find a citizenry unwilling to support it."

Currently, few of the nation's political leaders are willing to support a return to the draft. President Reagan has declared his support for the All-Volunteer Force on many occasions. Of the eight candidates for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, only one—Senator Ernest Hollings—supported conscription. There are no indications that opinions will change in the next few years.

However, as the armed forces try to meet their recruitment goals in the face of the trends mentioned above, some tinkering with the AVF will inevitably occur. As these adjustments are being considered, policy makers should pay attention to the ways various options affect opportunities for blacks and other minorities. Nearly one out of every 12 black male workers between 18 and 21 years old is in the military, making the armed services a major source of employment and income for black Americans. As the task force noted, one of the reasons for this is that "military service offers blacks better opportunities for responsible work at fair compensation than are available to them in many segments of the private sector." Military policy makers cannot base their decisions on this consideration, but neither can they be indifferent to it.

Proportion of Qualified and Available Males Required for Military Service, 1981-95

Thousands unless otherwise indicated

Category	Annual average	
	1981-83	1991-95
Total eighteen-year-old males	**2,049**	**1,637**
Minus: Nonavailable	626	489
Institutionalized	31	25
College enrollees less first- or second-year dropouts	595	464
Minus: Unqualified	576	461
Mental	363	291
Physical or moral	213	170
Equals: Qualified and available male pool	**847**	**687**
Total male recruit requirements	**354**	**376**
Percent of pool required	**42**	**55**

Source: Martin Binkin, *America's Volunteer Military* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1984), p. 35.

The Urban Commuter

by William P. O'Hare

(Dr. O'Hare is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Black people who live in urbanized areas use public transportation at a higher than average rate, as do older workers, women, and the poor. (An urbanized area, as defined by the Census Bureau, contains a large central city, the densely settled inner suburbs that surround the central city, and a population of 50,000 or more.) Among black workers living in urbanized areas, 30.9 percent used public transportation for the worktrip in 1970 and 21.8 percent did so in 1980—nearly three times the rate for whites in both years. In 1980—the last year for which data are available–11.7 percent of the work force living in urbanized areas was black yet 26.7 percent of workers who lived in these areas and used public transportation were black. A number of theories for these pronounced black/white differences have been put forward, but none of them offer complete explanations for blacks' relatively high use of public transportation.

Why the Differences?

The heavy use of public transportation by blacks is often attributed to their relatively low economic status, which results in a low rate of auto ownership. Our data for workers living in urbanized areas in 1980 show that 20.1 percent of workers with a family income under $10,000 had no car available, compared to 5.9 percent for those with income between $10,000 and $20,000, 2.3 percent for those with income from $20,000 to $50,000, and only 1.2 percent of those with incomes over $50,000. Since blacks on average are poorer than whites, they are more likely to lack personal transportation. The 1980 census showed that 32.6 percent of all black households in the country did not have a car, compared to only 10.2 percent of white households. This means, of course, that proportionally more blacks must rely on public transportation for the journey to work.

Does the lower rate of auto ownership among blacks explain their higher dependence on mass transit? Not entirely. Even among blacks and whites with the same number of autos in their household, blacks show a higher proclivity to use public transportation. For example, in 1980, among households with no auto available, 61.6 percent of black workers in urbanized areas used mass transit compared to only 42.0 percent of whites. Among workers from households with at least one auto available, blacks use public transportation twice as frequently as whites. So although the lack of autos is a factor in blacks' higher use of public transportation for the worktrip, there are clearly other factors operating.

Some have suggested that one such factor is the different geographic location of blacks and whites within urbanized areas. Most blacks residing in urbanized areas live in central cities, and mass transit is more readily available in central cities than in inner suburbs where most whites live. In 1980, 41.6 percent of white workers residing in urbanized areas lived in central cities, compared to 71.8 percent of black workers who lived in urbanized areas.

The concentration of blacks in central cities, however, turns out not to be the reason they use public transportation so frequently. Even white residents of central cities use mass transit only half as often as black central city residents, and whites living in inner suburbs use public transportation less than half as often as blacks who live in the inner suburbs. In 1980, just over a quarter (25.6 percent) of black workers living in a central city used public transportation for the journey to work, compared to 11.0 percent of whites. Among workers living in the inner suburbs in 1980, 4.9 percent of the whites used mass transit for the worktrip, compared to 10.8 percent of blacks.

Blacks in the inner suburbs, therefore, were nearly as likely to use public transportation for the journey to work as whites in the central cities, so central city residence alone has little to do with the frequency of public transportation use. In 1980, 35.7 percent of central city blacks in the 25 largest urbanized areas used public transportation for the worktrip, compared to 23.2 percent of whites. In the inner suburbs of these 25 urbanized areas, blacks used mass transit at twice the rate of whites.

As one might imagine, given the residential distribution of blacks and whites within urbanized areas, the proportion of blacks and whites in each of six major commuter flows differs sharply (see table). This, too, has been offered as an explanation of their differing dependence on public transportation. For whites, the heaviest flow took place outside of central cities in both 1970 and 1980. Over a third of white workers living in urbanized areas commuted from a home in an inner suburb to jobs outside the central city in both years. In contrast, the heaviest flow among blacks occurred inside central cities. In both 1970 and 1980, the majority of black workers lived and worked in a central city, but outside the central business district (CBD) of the central city.

But racial differences in commuter flows also failed to explain the different rates of mass transit use. When we examined the use of public transportation by blacks and whites in the six major commuter flows, we found that blacks were more likely than whites to use transit in each of the six flows. For example, among those who live in a central city and work in the CBD, the use of mass transit is relatively high for both blacks and whites, but it is substantially higher for blacks. In 1980, 44.1 percent of blacks living in a central city and working in a CBD used public transportation for the journey to work, compared to 30.5 percent of whites in this commuter flow.

In 1980, the proportion of blacks that used transit was at least six percentage points higher than the proportion of whites in all of the six flows except one. Among workers who lived in an inner suburb and worked in the CBD, blacks and whites used public transportation in nearly identical proportions—32.2 percent and 32.3 percent respectively.

Segregation, Transportation, and Economics

Of course, blacks and whites in urbanized areas are distributed differently between central cities and inner suburbs, and they are also racially isolated within these regions. Analyses of 1980 census data indicate that most big cities and their inner suburbs are still quite segregated and that little progress toward residential racial integration has been made since 1970.

Blacks' residential isolation is only partially explained by their low income. Blacks and whites at the same income level seldom live in the same neighborhoods. Among blacks and whites of the same income levels, a higher proportion of blacks than whites live in central cities. Furthermore, residential isolation of blacks is not due to black preferences. When asked about the racial composition of a neighborhood where they would like to live, most blacks say they would prefer a racially integrated neighborhood. And despite a decade of rapid black suburbanization, in 1980 blacks made up only about 6 percent of the suburban population.

Dependence on public transportation combined with the distribution of blacks within urbanized areas has important economic consequences. John F. Kain, a Harvard economist, argues that one of the major obstacles to blacks' economic progress is their heavy concentration in central cities as the majority of new jobs for which they are qualified open up in the suburbs. Many analysts consider this mismatch a fundamental problem for black central-city residents. This problem, of course, stems from the lack of personal transportation combined with antiquated mass transit systems designed years ago to transport workers from the suburbs to jobs in the central city. These systems are of little help to inner-city blacks seeking transit to suburban job sites.

Before new public transportation systems are designed to resolve this problem, it is important to determine precisely the reasons that minorities, regardless of auto ownership or commuter flow, rely more heavily than whites on public transportation. Despite the numerous suggested explanations, we have yet to understand fully why this occurs. Perhaps a more detailed geographic division of urbanized areas would be helpful.

The categories "central city" and "inner suburb" are simply too broad to yield the kinds of distinctions—geographic, economic, and otherwise—that are important determinants of public transportation use. One telling indicator of this deficiency is the black/white difference in worktrip travel time.

Since most workers who live in an urbanized area hold jobs in a central city, one would expect blacks—who are far more concentrated in central cities than whites—to have shorter commutes, which would take less time. This is not the case. Information on distance to work was not collected in either the 1970 or the 1980 census, but data on travel time, collected in the 1980 census, show that blacks spend more time commuting than whites. The average worktrip for blacks living in urbanized areas was 27.1 minutes compared to 21.5 minutes for whites. Furthermore, the gap between the average worktrip travel time of blacks and whites was evident in each of the six commuter flows shown in the table.

Some might attribute blacks' higher average worktrip travel time to their greater reliance on mass transit, a relatively slow mode of transportation. The mean travel time for blacks, however, is higher than that for whites for all modes of transportation except railroads, which are used by only a small portion of workers. This suggests that the central city neighborhoods where blacks tend to live are generally more distant from the central city work sites than the neighborhoods favored by whites.

Clearly, there are significant distinctions among the neighborhoods within central cities and inner suburbs, and within their differences lie the answers to important questions about racial differences in the use of mass transit.

Distribution of black and white residents of urbanized areas, by commuting pattern, 1970 and 1980

	Whites		Blacks	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
Living in a central city	49.4%	41.6%	82.9%	71.8%
Traveling to a CBD	5.9	5.1	8.6	8.4
Traveling to a central city outside CBD	33.6	28.5	58.4	50.3
Traveling outside of a central city	9.9	7.9	16.0	13.1
Living in inner suburb	50.6	58.4	17.1	28.2
Traveling to a CBD	2.9	3.6	0.7	1.7
Traveling to a central city outside CBD	14.3	16.3	5.1	9.0
Traveling outside of a central city	33.5	38.6	11.4	17.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.
Note: Some columns may not add up owing to rounding.

Telescope

JCPS Eighth Annual Dinner

The Joint Center for Political Studies Eighth Annual Dinner will be held Thursday, March 21, 1985, at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. More than 1,500 people attended last year's dinner, which coincided with the Fourth National Policy Institute.

This year's dinner will feature Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer, internationally known economist, as speaker. Clifton C. Garvin, Jr., chairman and chief executive officer of Exxon Corporation and chairman of the Business Roundtable, is national chairman of the dinner. Members of the dinner advisory committee are Thornton Bradshaw, chairman of RCA Corporation; Charles Brown, chairman of AT&T; John Filer, former chairman of Aetna Life and Casualty; Douglas Fraser, former president of the United Auto Workers; Reginald Jones, former chairman of General Electric Company; Donald Kendall, chairman of PEPSICO, Inc.; Robert Kirby, former chairman of Westinghouse Electric Corporation; Lane Kirland, president of the AFL-CIO; George Weissman, chairman of the executive committee, Philip Morris, Inc.; and Jerome Wiesner, president emeritus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Tables and tickets are now available. Sponsors' tables of 10 are $5,000; patrons' tables of 10 are $2,000; individual tickets are $200. For further information or reservations, write or call Alfreda Edwards at the Joint Center, telephone 202 626-3555.

Florida Allows County Commissioner Elections by District

An amendment to Florida's constitution, passed overwhelmingly by the voters on November 6, 1984, gives each county the option of creating single-member districts to elect county commissioners. The constitution had required that county commissioners be elected at-large. Alzo J. Reddick, a state representative from Orlando, sponsored the amendment—the first amendment proposed by a black legislator to win statewide acceptance. Those who favor single-member districts believe they will provide a better chance of electing blacks to the county commissions.

The amendment is expected to generate some controversy because it does not mandate that counties create single-member districts; it only provides the option of doing so. Each county must decide individually—either by vote of the sitting commissioners or by petition—whether to create the districts. Linda Vogt, coordinator of the Florida Committee For a Better Community, a group active in pushing the district system of election, believes that in many counties, a change to the single-member district system will have to come by petition. Hence, she believes that advocates of the single-member districts will have to convince voters in each county of the fairness of the new option.

Army Promotes Record Number of Blacks to General

The U.S. Army recently announced the promotion of six blacks from colonel to brigadier general—the largest number of blacks promoted to general at any one time by any service. The six blacks are 9.4 percent of the 64 persons promoted to general.

The percentage of black generals in the Army had declined, from 6.3 percent in 1982 to 5.1 percent in 1984. The recent promotions will raise the percentage at least back to the 1982 level. Even with the decline, however, the Army's proportion of black generals remained considerably higher than that of the Air Force, with 1.5 percent; the Navy, with 0.8 percent; or the Marine Corps, with 1.5 percent.

Five of the six new black generals come from black institutions and one from the U.S. Military Academy. The new generals and their schools are: Wallace C. Arnold, Hampton Institute; Marvin D. Brailsford, Prairie View A&M University; Sherian G. Cadoria, Southern University and A&M College; Fred A. Gorden, United States Military Academy; Charles H. Hines, Howard University; and Alonzo E. Short, Jr., Virginia State University. Colonel Cadoria will be one of four female generals in the army, and the only black female general in any of the services.

Political Organizations Elect New Officers

Several organizations elected new officers at the end of last year.

At the National Black Republican Council convention, held in St. Louis on November 17, LeGree S. Daniels was reelected to a four-year term as chairperson. She had filled the term of James C. Cummings, Jr., the previous chairperson, when he resigned in 1982 to accept a federal appointment. Ms. Daniels served as chairperson of Blacks for Reagan-Bush during the 1984 campaign.

At the annual conference of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, held November 23 to 27 in Indianapolis, Robert Farrell, a Los Angeles councilmember, was elected president, replacing Donald Tucker. Farrell previously served as NBC/LEO's first vice president.

The Congressional Black Caucus selected Mickey Leland (D-TX) as chairman, replacing Julian Dixon (D-CA). Leland had previously served as the caucus' first vice chairman.

Blacks in the Executive Suite

A recent study of the 92 largest corporations in Chicago has found that blacks and other ethnic groups are "virtually absent from the upper echelons of Chicago's largest corporations." The report was written by Russell Barta, professor of social science at Mundelein College of Chicago, and published by the Institute of Urban Life in cooperation with the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs.

Conducted in 1983, the study found that while there were modest improvements over the results found in a similar study conducted in 1972, blacks, Poles, Hispanics, and Italians continue to be "grossly underrepresented" in the upper echelons of the corporate world, considering their proportions in the population. In 1983, only 5 percent of corporate directors and officers were black, Hispanic, Italian, or Polish, despite the fact that these ethnic groups constitute 47 percent of Chicago's population.

The study found that blacks are more underrepresented as corporate officers than as members of boards of directors; blacks comprise 20.1 percent of Chicago's population, hold 1.8 percent of the directorships, and 0.5 percent of the corporate offices. Blacks are most likely to be found in the executive suites of corporations directly serving the public, such as utilities, banks, and food companies.

Copies of the study entitled *Minority Report #2*, are available from the Institute of Urban Life, 14 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60611, or the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, Box 33279, Washington, D.C. 20001. Single copies are $1.00, additional copies, 50 cents each.

Joint Center for Political Studies
Distinguished Scholars Program
Applications Invited

The Joint Center for Political Studies announces the establishment of a Distinguished Scholars Program under a grant from the MacArthur Foundation. The program will enable outstanding scholars and public policy analysts to spend up to one year in residence at the Joint Center in Washington, D.C., to conduct research on issues of fundamental importance to black Americans. During the first year of the program, 1985-86, one award carrying a stipend of up to $60,000 will be made.

The Joint Center is a national nonprofit, nonpartisan, public policy research institution. Its research covers three broad areas—economic policy, social policy, and political participation. The Joint Center conducts demographic studies and maintains an extensive data bank on the social, economic, and political characteristics of black Americans.

The scholar selected will have great flexibility in planning a program of activities for the fellowship year. She/he will be expected to complete at least one major piece of publishable research on a topic of mutual interest to the scholar and the Joint Center. The scholar will also participate, as appropriate, in the Joint Center's on-going activities.

Eligible persons must have a record of substantial publication and distinguished work in their field. Special consideration will be given to the congruence between applicants' research interests and those of the Joint Center.

Applicants for 1985-86 should submit a curriculum vitae and a statement of no more than 2,500 words describing the project to be completed during their stay at the Joint Center and how their interests relate to the Joint Center's work. Applicants should arrange to have sent to the Joint Center two letters of support for the project indicating the candidate's ability to bring it to a successful completion. Applications must be postmarked no later than **February 22, 1985.** Finalists must be available for interview in Washington, D.C., early in March. Awards will be announced by March 31, 1985.

For further information, please contact:

Dr. Milton Morris
Distinguished Scholars Program
The Joint Center for Political Studies
1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004

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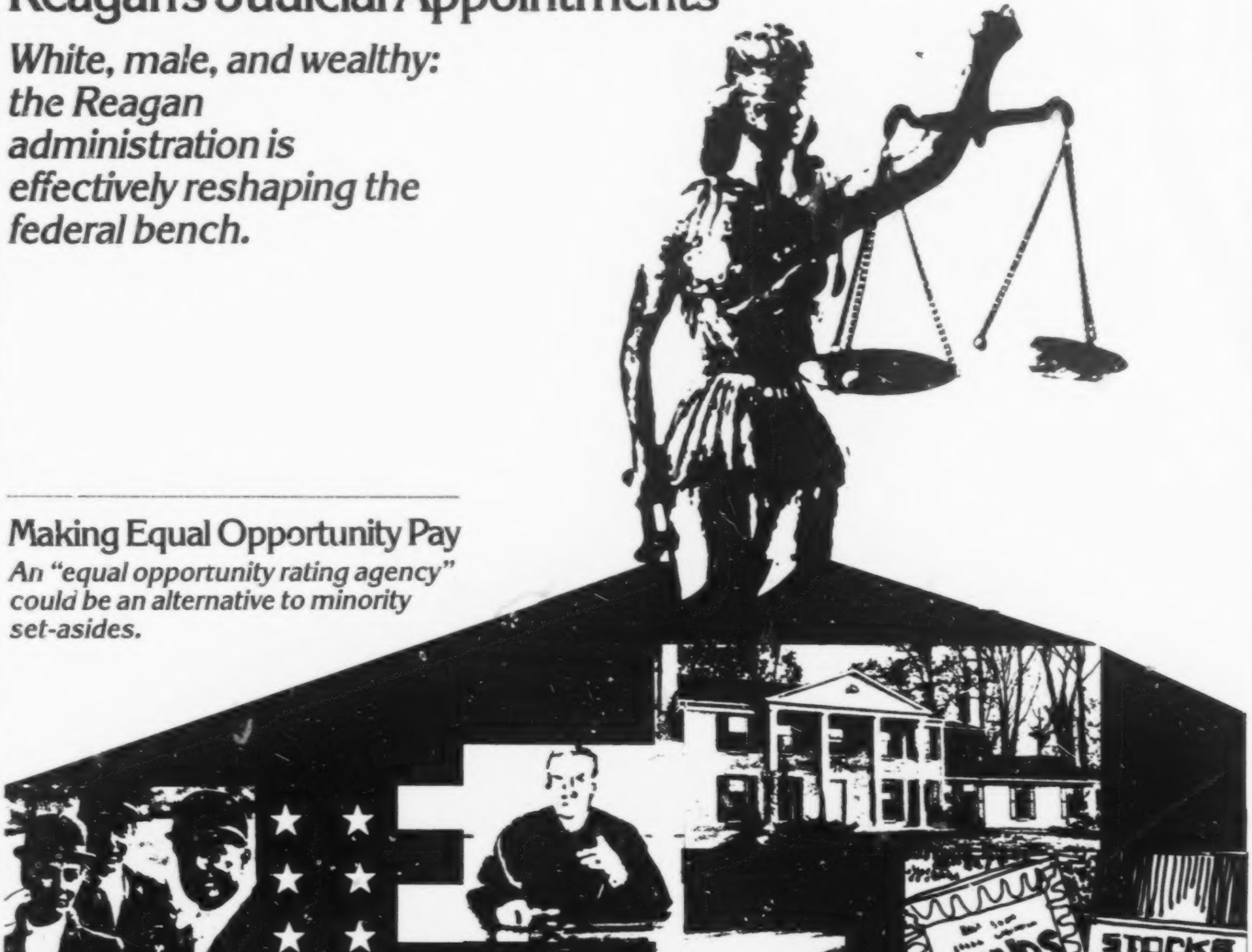
Reagan's Judicial Appointments

White, male, and wealthy: the Reagan administration is effectively reshaping the federal bench.

Making Equal Opportunity Pay

An "equal opportunity rating agency" could be an alternative to minority set-asides.



Plus: A JCPS table of U.S. Senate races to watch in 1986.

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Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

The national interest in education has burgeoned; scholars, teachers, and policy makers have all expressed concern about the extent to which the education and training offered by our schools and colleges enable students to find a productive place in today's technologically driven economy. The Joint Center has been similarly concerned about the apparent mismatch between what is taught and what is needed, particularly in the case of the nation's black youth.

In 1981 and 1982, the Joint Center convened a meeting of thirty prominent black scholars at Tarrytown, New York, to discuss the problems black Americans face in the closing decades of the twentieth century. This group identified education as one of three areas meriting urgent concern, noting that education has traditionally "been a key vehicle for upward mobility." (The other areas were the economy and the black family.) I was especially pleased, therefore, to learn recently that the Carnegie Corporation of New York attributes like urgency to the issue of education.

On January 28, David A. Hamburg, president of Carnegie, announced creation of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. Projected to have a ten-year life, the forum "will bring together leading Americans to help chart a course for education policy that reflects a world economy transformed by science and technology." Dr. Hamburg explained the foundation's new program this way: "The basic goal of the forum is to improve the chances that all Americans are educated in a way that helps them participate effectively in the economy."

Dr. Hamburg will head the forum with the help of an advisory council that includes Dr. Shirley M. Malcom, program head in the Office of Opportunities in Science at the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and Dr. Shirley M. McBay, dean of Student Affairs at M.I.T., both of whom are black, and San Antonio Mayor Henry G. Cisneros, who is Hispanic. Among the issues to be addressed by the forum are these:

- How to make sure that the education provided women, racial and ethnic minorities, and other major population groups enables their members to participate in the economic rewards the society has to offer;
- How to improve the intellectual skills and accomplishments of all elementary and secondary school students while also improving the efficiency with which these students are educated;
- Whether the national economy will require skill levels in the general population higher, lower, or about the same as those needed now, and what will be the "basic skills" needed by everyone;
- How to address effectively the needs of unemployed teenagers, displaced workers, people in dead-end jobs, and millions of illiterate adults who lack the threshold skills required for effective participation in the economy; and
- What changes are needed to help schools and colleges prepare young adults and people now in the work force to function well in a work environment increasingly characterized by shifting tasks, a rapidly changing knowledge base, and teamwork.

The forum will accomplish its mission through a variety of means: workshops; research; monitoring of national educational trends; coordination with groups and policy makers who have similar interests; and yearly meetings of prominent Americans from business, labor, government, education, and the scientific community to study the connection between education policy and future economic needs.

I strongly support this initiative and laud its stated intention to "address issues concerning education and its relationship to the economy for people of all ages and in all institutional settings." There are few more worthy endeavors than "ensuring that all Americans have authentic opportunities for a higher quality of education than any they have earlier achieved."

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Making Equal Opportunity Pay

by Robert Suggs

(Mr. Suggs, an attorney, is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Elected officials and others have long recognized the critical role that minority-owned businesses play in job and wealth creation. This has led to the use of minority ~~set-asides~~ and other minority preference arrangements for government procurement in an effort to stimulate minority business development. The first federal initiative, the "8(a) program" in the Small Business Administration, was established in 1970. This program sets aside certain government procurement contracts and allows only minority firms to bid on them. As blacks have captured more and more political influence at the local level, minority set-asides in local procurement have proliferated across the country. They have been enacted by states (e.g., Ohio), state agencies (e.g., Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority), counties (e.g., Dade County, Florida), cities (e.g., Washington, D.C.), and municipal agencies (e.g., San Francisco Unified School District).

Increasingly, however, set-asides and even minority procurement goals are under attack. Although the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a limited federal minority set-aside law in 1980 (in the case of *Fullilove* v. *Klutznick*), it did so by a six to three vote, and the six justices who sustained it could agree on no common rationale. Since five of the current justices on the Court are over 76 years old, in the next four years several new appointments will probably be made. Given the disagreement within the Court on a constitutional rationale for set-asides, and given the use of conservative "litmus tests" to select judicial nominees, the 1980 decision may well be overturned by a changed Court.

Across the country there is a determined effort to do away with minority set-asides and preferences. The new Civil Rights Commission and prominent administration spokespersons have voiced opposition to them, calling them a form of reverse discrimination. The Associated General Contractors of America, the major construction trade association, has published a tract entitled "Discriminatory Impact of Racist and Other Special Preference Procurement Programs." The Department of Justice has intervened in private suits and tried to invalidate local set-asides. As local jurisdictions have enacted set-asides, they have been challenged on both constitutional and statutory grounds.

More than a dozen courts have already ruled on these challenges, and so far most of the set-aside programs have survived constitutional scrutiny. But other grounds exist upon which set-asides can be challenged. The Georgia Supreme Court recently invalidated Atlanta's set-aside ordinance because it violated a state law requiring acceptance of the lowest responsible bid. Other state and federal statutes provide additional grounds to challenge set-asides and these may be increasingly relied upon in the future. Consideration should therefore be given to developing alternatives, because the newer challenges may succeed or the composition of the Supreme Court may change enough to overrule the *Fullilove* decision.

A New Approach

I would like to propose one concept that avoids the legal vulnerabilities of set asides: an equal opportunity rating agency (EORA). This would be a private company operating under contract with cities, counties, and states wishing to use its services. In essence, an EORA would function much like a credit agency and would serve the similar purpose of measuring true costs.

When someone applies for a loan, the lender can use the applicant's credit rating in deciding whether to approve the loan. That rating is established by a private commercial firm based upon the applicant's credit history; it is supposed to indicate the likelihood that the borrower will repay the loan. Information necessary for the credit agency to rate a borrower is either furnished voluntarily by the borrower as a precondition to qualifying for a loan or collected from court records and other public sources. Borrowers with superior credit ratings—whether individual consumers, business firms, or municipalities—are charged lower interest rates than those whose slow repayments or defaults in the past have earned them a lower rating. Thus past performance is rewarded with a competitive advantage—the ability to borrow at a lower interest rate.

An equal opportunity rating agency would evaluate bidders seeking contracts with a city by assessing their historical performance in hiring and promoting minorities and using minority suppliers and contractors. Just as a credit rating expresses the likelihood of default on a loan, an EORA rating would assess the historical quality of performance and express the likelihood that the contractor would fail to provide equal opportunity for all the city's population. And just as a high credit rating reduces the interest rate at which funds can be borrowed, an EORA would economically justify the selection of a nominally higher bid from a highly rated company over a lower bid from a lower rated company. An EORA would not make procurement decisions for local governments. It would merely provide information allowing them to choose the most appropriate supplier consistent with the long-term economic health of their populations.

A loan default imposes costs on the lender and justifies charging higher interest rates to those more likely to default and refusing loans to those most likely to default. An EORA rating would reflect the costs at the macroeconomic level imposed by failure to provide equal opportunity and would function as a rough measure of these costs. Much of a city's procurement of supplies and services may be from companies within the metropolitan region but outside its boundaries—especially a city that has, first, a high minority population and a static or declining employment base and, second, surrounding suburbs with lower unemployment and substantially fewer minorities. The informal employment barriers (such as word-of-mouth hiring procedures) that restrict minority access to jobs in the suburbs may increase unemployment rates within the city and the city's related social welfare costs. Thus costs that could justify selecting the nominally higher bid would include:

(Continued on page 6)

Reagan's Judicial Appointments

by Sheldon Goldman

(Mr. Goldman is a professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. This is an abbreviated version of an article that will appear in the April issue of Judicature, the journal of the American Judicature Society.)

Ronald Reagan's reelection by a landslide victory in 1984 was hailed by some observers as a significant political event comparable to Franklin Roosevelt's reelection in 1936. Among other things, the views of both presidents on the role of government, including the courts, were radically different from those of their immediate predecessors in office. Indeed, in their first terms both Reagan and Roosevelt sought to change the direction of government, saw the courts as frustrating their policy agendas, and consciously attempted to use the power of judicial appointment to place on the bench judges sharing their general philosophy. And both of their reelection campaigns saw the courts and judicial appointments emerge as issues.

Franklin Roosevelt's court appointments fundamentally reshaped constitutional law, and his appointees numerically dominated the lower federal courts for close to a decade after his presidency. Ronald Reagan has already begun the groundwork for his judicial legacy. With just two terms in office—as compared to Roosevelt's three plus—Reagan will accomplish what only Roosevelt and Eisenhower accomplished during the last half century—naming a majority of the lower federal judiciary in active service. This makes it all the more significant to inquire what has been the Reagan first-term record in the realm of judicial selection. How does this record compare with those of previous administrations? Has the administration been successful in placing on the bench those in harmony with administration philosophy? What can we expect in the second term?

District Court Appointments

The findings for selected attributes of the 129 Reagan first-term appointments to the federal district courts are presented in Table 1. Also presented in the table are comparable findings for the Carter, Ford, Nixon, and Johnson administrations' appointees.

The record of the Reagan first-term district court appointments is mixed with regard to gender and race/ethnicity. The Reagan administration was, of course, responsible for the historic appointment of the first woman to the Supreme Court. At the district court level, the record, as indicated by Table 1, shows that the Reagan administration was second only to the Carter administration, in the number of women appointed. Over nine per cent of the appointments went to women, which suggests that the administration, as well as some Republican senators, made an effort to recruit well-qualified women. While it is true that the large majority of all appointees of all five administrations have been male, the Reagan administration must be given credit for continuing the push for sexual equality in the recruitment of federal district judges. It is also significant that by the end of the first term, two women held important Justice Department positions concerned with judicial selection: Carol Dinkins as deputy attorney general and Jane Swift as special counsel for judicial selection in the Office of Legal Policy. Women in key Justice Department positions will probably be sensitive to sexual discrimination in the judicial selection process.

Table 1. Gender and Race of U.S. District Court appointees

	Reagan	Carter	Ford	Nixon	Johnson
	%	%	%	%	%
Gender:					
Male	90.7	85.6	98.1	99.4	98.4
Female	9.3	14.4	1.9	0.6	1.6
Ethnicity or race:					
White	93.0	78.7	88.5	95.5	93.4
Black	0.8	13.9	5.8	3.4	4.1
Hispanic	5.4	6.9	1.9	1.1	2.5
Asian	0.8	0.5	3.9	-	-
Total no. of appointees	129	202	52	179	122

The record as to black appointments, however, is markedly different. The Reagan first-term record is not only the worst of all five administrations, it is the worst since the Eisenhower administration, in which no blacks were appointed to life-time district court positions. Justice Department officials are aware of this poor record and have said they would like to improve it, but they feel it is extraordinarily difficult to find well-qualified blacks who share the president's philosophy and are also willing to serve. Critics respond that the administration has not made the recruitment of blacks a high priority in part because the black electorate votes overwhelmingly Democratic, and there is little political pay-off in the appointment of blacks. In contrast, the proportion of Hispanics was second only to that of the Carter administration. Some observers link that fact to the Republican party effort to woo Hispanic voters in the 1984 election.

The net worth of the Reagan appointees as compared to the Carter appointees is shown in Table 2. There are differences in degree at both ends of the financial spectrum. There were proportionately more millionaires among the Reagan district court appointees—over five times as many as the Carter appointees—and proportionately fewer Reagan appointees at the lower end of the economic spectrum. This suggests that there is somewhat of a class difference between the Republican and Democratic appointees on the whole that is analogous to the socioeconomic differences between the electorates of the two parties. However, the findings also suggest that the Reagan and Carter appointees were for the most part drawn from the middle to upper class.

Table 2. Net worth of Reagan appointees and Carter appointees

	Reagan (first term)		Carter (96th Congress)	
	District	Appeals	District	Appeals
	%	%	%	%
$0-199,999 total	18.6	10.0	35.8	33.3
200,000-999,999 total	58.9	66.7	60.1	56.4
1+ million total	22.5	23.3	4.0	10.3
Total no. of appointees	129	30	148	39

Source: Senate Judiciary Committee

Appeals Court Appointments

Traditionally, senators of the president's party have had considerably less influence in the selection of appeals court judges than of district court judges. This has meant that administrations have had more of an opportunity to pursue their policy agendas by recruiting appeals judges who are thought to be philosophically sympathetic to those agendas. We can so view the 31 first-term Reagan appointments to the courts of appeals with general jurisdiction as compared to the 56 Carter, 12 Ford, 45 Nixon, and 40 Johnson appointees. Because there are fewer appeals judges than district judges, differences in percentages, as reported in Table 3, must be treated with caution.

In terms of appointments of women and minorities, the first-term Reagan record for the appeals courts can be seen as a dramatic retreat from the Carter record. Of 31 appeals court appointees only one was a woman, only one was black, and only one was Hispanic. Whether the participation of Carol E. Dinkins (until her departure from the Justice Department in March 1985) and Jane Swift in the selection process will result in the active consideration and recruitment of women to the appeals courts will be something to watch for during the second term. The male-dominated selection process may lead to greater willingness to recruit women for the district bench than for the more important and prestigious appeals courts. The administration may also want their women appointees to the district courts to prove themselves on the bench before being actively considered for promotion.

Future Appointments

Have the Reagan appointees met the expectations of the administration? Have they begun to shift the ideological balance on the lower courts? The answers to these questions must await systematic empirical analysis. Fragmentary evidence, however, suggests that the administration on the whole has reason to be satisfied. For example, a study by the Center for Judicial Studies of every decision published by every Reagan appointee serving during the first two years of Reagan's first term concluded that the overwhelming majority of appointees demonstrated judicial restraint along the lines favored by the administration.

Although political party platforms are notorious for being treated as merely campaign rhetoric, the 1984 Republican party platform contains a good summary of the Reagan philosophy for the judiciary:

> Judicial power must be exercised with deference towards state and local officials. . . . It is not a judicial function to reorder the economic, political, and social priorities of our nation. . . . We commend the president for appointing federal judges committed to the rights of law-abiding citizens and traditional family values. . . . In his second term President Reagan will continue to appoint Supreme Court and other federal judges who share our commitment to judicial restraint.

This is the ideological or philosophical outlook the administration will be seeking in judges during the second term.

Table 3. Gender and Race of Appointees to the Courts of Appeals

	Reagan	Carter	Ford	Nixon	Johnson
	%	%	%	%	%
Gender:					
Male	96.8	80.4	100.0	100.0	97.5
Female	3.2	19.6	-	-	2.5
Ethnicity or race:					
White	93.5	78.6	100.0	97.8	95.0
Black	3.2	16.1	-	-	5.0
Hispanic	3.2	3.6	-	-	-
Asian	-	1.8	-	2.2	-
Total no. of appointees	31	56	12	45	40

We can also offer some projections as to the likely profile of second-term appointees. Just as there was no indication at the start of the second term that there would be sharp alterations in other areas of public policy, so with the judiciary there is no reason to anticipate a shift in the course already set during the first term.

What this means is that second-term appointees will probably continue to be predominantly white male Republicans, many of whom are at the upper end of the socioeconomic spectrum. Women will probably continue to receive appointments at a level comparable to that for the first term, which will place the Reagan administration second only to the Carter administration in terms of appointments to women. As for black Americans, there is no reason to believe that there will be a marked change from the poor record of the first term during the second term.

The Reagan administration correctly sees the courts as having the power to further or hinder administration goals; thus judicial appointments are of major importance for this administration in its attempt to reshape public policy. How successful the administration will ultimately be must await more extensive analysis of the judicial decision making of the first- and second-term appointees.

Making Equal Opportunity Pay

(Continued from page 6)

asides. In addition, it would have a broader reach, encompassing even private sector transactions, and it could even be used by minority politicians lacking the votes to pass set-asides and minority-governed jurisdictions too small to administer them. As a private firm operating under contract with local governments, an EORA would be independent of changes in the political administration in Washington. Moreover, it would not require new legislation or significant new resources, and the accurate and comprehensive information that it would collect and make available for the first time to local governments might prove useful for other economic development initiatives.

This EORA concept is not without its own difficulties. But it should be explored now, so that if a court decision should invalidate existing arrangements, effective and well-designed alternatives will already have been prepared.

(Continued from page 3)

- lost municipal income tax revenues from unemployment and underemployment resulting from discrimination;
- added social welfare costs from unemployment and underemployment resulting from discrimination;
- the increased expense of monitoring historically noncomplying companies; and
- the effects of discrimination against minority-owned businesses, which retard the growth of this potential tax base and source of job growth.

A rating system also allows a city to factor in the "multiplier effect." For a city with a high minority population, the net cost of spending $1 million with a company employing minorities and subcontracting with minority firms is less than that of spending the same amount with a company that doesn't.

An EORA could be started if several large cities contracted to use its services, pooled their information resources and coordinated their information needs. The agency would assume some of the equal employment opportunity functions currently performed by each city's staff, and it would also function as a central repository for information gathered by each city. It would permit smaller jurisdictions, without the resources to mount their own EEO compliance efforts, to steer their business away from the most discriminatory companies. At present, although most public contracts contain an equal opportunity and nondiscrimination obligation of some kind, no central file exists where past performance of this obligation by individual companies is compiled. Nor does poor performance or failure to attain minority business participation goals for a contract with one jurisdiction necessarily affect contracts with another. Through an EORA, for example, a company found to use phony minority companies as "fronts" would be red-flagged in every mayor's office in the country.

The fundamental weakness of equal opportunity requirements as part of the contractual obligation is that they are necessarily future obligations. The contract is generally awarded and commitments locked into place before any evaluation can be made. Despite unsatisfactory performance, funds may already have been disbursed. At present, companies failing to fulfill their equal opportunity commitments can start with nearly a clean slate on the next bidding cycle by promising to do better the next time.

An EORA would tie past performance to future gain. A company with a history of discrimination would have to improve its record *before* it could compete on an equal footing with a company not so handicapped. In addition, set-asides affect only public sector contracts, but an EORA rating would assess all a bidder's contracts. A contractor that used minority subcontractors only on public-sector projects would be disadvantaged compared to a contractor dealing fairly with minority firms across the board. The latter would gain measurable competitive advantages. Nondiscrimination would become a business advantage that competitive pressures would continually enforce.

A great deal of the information required for an EORA already exists in government files, but it is scattered across the country. Brought into a central place, it can be verified, checked for consistency, compared, and analyzed. Under federal law, firms with 100 or more workers must report the occupational and salary breakdowns of their employees by race. Publicly held companies must include information about major employment discrimination claims in their filings with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Local governments with minority participation or employment goals collect similar information, but few are able to verify it for consistency and accuracy. In addition, relevant information is contained in the records of courts and administrative agencies that adjudicate employment discrimination complaints and in those of state and local human rights agencies that investigate them. Minority business development agencies and organizations may also be useful sources.

One advantage of a central repository for this kind of information would be that inaccurate or misleading information filed by a major company would quickly have national repercussions for all its public contracts. This would encourage companies to be more careful and timely with the information they provide. Moreover, if a company disputes its assigned rating the burden is on it to provide the factual basis to justify a higher rating. It could do this by providing additional data about either its own operations or those of its competitors. A company refusing to cooperate would not be disqualified: It might in fact offer something unique and have no competitors. Or its bid may be so low that a city chooses immediate budget savings over the longer term consequences. In the aggregate, however, the use of ratings in procurement would allow more rational decisions.

Once assigned, a rating would be reassessed periodically and after significant events. A superior rating might even be used affirmatively by the rated company in its product advertising or as evidence in discrimination suits. A properly publicized rating would also permit black consumers at large to spend their dollars with companies offering the best employment and business opportunities.

Once established, the costs of an EORA system could be recovered through a number of means. Cities using its services extensively could pay a subscription charge, and since an EORA would replace some of their currently budgeted equal opportunity enforcement efforts, subscribing cities could conceivably save money. Bidding qualification fees—similar to loan application fees—could be collected from companies seeking public contracts. Smaller jurisdictions, making only intermittent use of its confidential files to determine ratings for their prospective suppliers, could be separately charged access fees as merchants are charged for credit checks.

The Broader Reach of EORA

The EORA is not a substitute for set-aside programs; it would not create a sheltered market reserved exclusively for minorities. If, however, efforts to invalidate sheltered markets succeed, and even if they do not, the concept could be a useful supplement, since it avoids most of the legal vulnerabilites of set-

(Continued on page 5)

Telescope

DOE Clearinghouse for Minority Energy Information

The Department of Energy has opened a National Minority Energy Information Clearinghouse, a central repository for information about energy programs and the economic impact of those programs on minorities, minority businesses, and minority educational institutions.

Services available from the clearinghouse are:

- referrals to sources of management and technical assistance for minority businesses and educational institutions and to sources for procurement and research opportunities;
- identification of minority vendors;
- searches of DOE, Department of Commerce, and Small Business Administration data bases;
- regional socioeconomic and demographic data on minorities and their energy use patterns;
- referrals to sources that assist in energy development for minority communities.

The clearinghouse may be reached by writing the National Minority Energy Information Clearinghouse, Office of Minority Economic Impact, U.S. Department of Energy, 1000 Independence Avenue, SW, Room 5B-110, Washington, D.C. 20585; or by calling 202/252-5876.

Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR) is coordinating a national grassroots effort in support of the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985. (See the February 1985 issue of *Focus* for a summary of the bill.) Last year, the House passed the bill, which reaffirms congressional intent that institutions receiving federal funds (e.g., schools, hospitals) have comprehensive nondiscrimination policies, but the bill was killed by a filibuster in the Senate. Similar tactics to defeat the bill are expected again this year. The full House is expected to vote on the bill in April; Senate hearings will probably start sometime this spring, with the full Senate taking up the measure by summer.

The LCCR has prepared background material on the bill, including a summary of the bill and a list of its sponsors, which can be obtained from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; telephone 202/667-1780.

State of New York Gets Its First Black Elected Mayor

Ronald V. Blackwood, elected as mayor of Mount Vernon, New York, in January, became the first black to be elected mayor in that state. Blackwood served four terms as a Republican councilman but switched to the Democratic party when Republican leaders did not support his mayoral aspirations. He emigrated to the United States 30 years ago from Kingston, Jamaica.

Bibliography on the Health of Minority Women

Women, Health, and Healing, an academic program at the University of California that provides graduate and post-graduate education in the area of women's health, is preparing a bibliography of publications on the health of minority women. The bibliography is divided into separate sections for black, Asian, Hispanic, and Native American women, and each section lists books, articles, and unpublished materials. The bibliography will also include a list of minority women's organizations and programs.

Those interested in obtaining a copy of the bibliography should contact Virginia Olesen, Co-Director, Women, Health, and Healing Project, Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Room N-631-Y, University of California, San Francisco, Calif. 94143; telephone: (415) 666-2453.

Update on the 1990 Census

Do you have any ideas about how the 1990 census should be conducted in your area? In last October's *Focus*, JCPS senior researcher William P. O'Hare described activities being conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in preparation for the 1990 census, including a list of public meetings to be held throughout the country. The Census Bureau is still seeking ideas for the next census from the public. Below is a list of meetings scheduled through 1985, along with telephone numbers of the State Data Centers sponsoring the meetings. You may contact the center in your area for further information.

Date	Place	Contact No.
April		
2	Montgomery, AL	205/348-6191
3	Jackson, MS	601/232-7288
17	Providence, RI	401/277-2656
18	Hartford, CT	203/566-3905
24	Richmond, VA	804/786-7843
May		
7	Topeka, KS	913/296-3296
8	Jefferson City, MO	314/751-4552
14	Helena, MT	406/444-2896
15	Boise, ID	208/344-3416
16	Harrisburg, PA	717/948-6336
22	Pittsburgh, PA	717/948-6336
June		
4	Augusta, ME	207/289-2271
11	Anchorage, AK	907/465-4513
12	Juneau, AK	907/465-4513
18	St. Paul, MN	612/296-4886
19	Des Moines, IA	515/281-3738
July		
9	Salt Lake City, UT	801/533-6082
10	Cheyenne, WY	303/236-2200
August		
13	Honolulu, HI	808/548-3082
15	Dover, DE	302/736-4271
September		
11	Sioux Falls, SD	605/677-5287
17	Bismarck, ND	701/237-8621
18	Lincoln, NE	402/472-2334
October		
8	Springfield, IL	217/782-3500
10	Austin, TX	512/475-3728

Selected U.S. Senate Races in 1986

State *	Incumbent	Party	CEA	Margin in 1980	Unregistered Blacks, 1984	Black % of VAP
Alabama	Denton	R	5	40,187	188,000	23
Arkansas	Bumpers	D	95	150,041	66,000	14
California	Cranston	D	85	1,611,973	489,000	7
Florida	Hawkins	R	30	117,051	393,000	11
Georgia	Mattingly	R	20	27,652	440,000	24
Illinois	Dixon	D	80	619,006	232,000	13
Indiana	Quayle	R	30	166,452	72,000	7
Louisiana	(OPEN)**	D	-	-	211,000	27
Maryland	Matthias	R	65	415,852	257,000	21
Missouri	(OPEN)**	D	-	-	109,000	9
New York	D'Amato	R	40	80,991	791,000	12
North Carolina	East	R	5	10,411	382,000	20
Ohio	Glenn	D	60	1,633,091	200,000	9
Pennsylvania	Specter	R	65	108,013	212,000	8
South Carolina	Hollings	D	65	354,608	250,000	27

* States having a Senate election in 1986 for which reliable estimates of unregistered blacks are available.

** Senators Russell Long (D,LA) and Thomas Eagleton (D,MO) will retire at the end of their current terms.

CEA = Roll call voting score on minority issues compiled by Congressional Education Associates.

Unregistered Blacks = Estimate of unregistered blacks of voting age as of November 1984.

VAP = Voting age population.

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

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Economist Andrew F. Brimmer: Blacks have made economic gains over the last two years. How do we keep up the pace?

Marian Wright Edelman, President, Children's Defense Fund: Teen-age pregnancy must be curbed. In the meantime, how can we help young mothers and their children?

Congressman William H. Gray, Chairman, House Budget Committee: Sound fiscal policy and compassion are not mutually exclusive. But can we achieve a consensus on both austerity and fairness?

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Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

During the past year, the Joint Center has examined major changes in black life and indeed in our national life. We commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act with a conference assessing changes in race relations; we marked the thirtieth anniversary of the *Brown* decision by publishing an appraisal of the progress and problems the society has experienced in pursuing equal educational opportunity; and through our many studies of black political participation—including Jesse Jackson's presidential bid—we documented black accomplishments in the political arena.

These and other activities underscore for us the remarkable changes that have occurred in the status of blacks in our society. For most of our history, we were denied fair treatment by officials at the state and local levels—officials who made decisions of extreme importance to black Americans. Having been discounted by our neighbors on the school board and by the men at the state capitol, we looked to political participation for advancement of our own interests. And now, thanks to increased political sophistication, the black community is strengthening its own voice at every level of government. Political self-help is paying off.

Today, there are more big-city black mayors than ever before; more black state legislators; more black county officials as well as city and school board members. The black vote helps elect blacks to office, and it is also crucial to the election of many whites who are, or can be persuaded to be, supportive of our goals.

Nevertheless, the activities of the Joint Center also underscore for us the nation's unfinished civil rights agenda. The victories of the past were, in many ways, the easy ones. The problems that remain are much more complex and subtle, and in some ways, we seem less well-equipped to tackle them now than we did two decades ago.

In some quarters, the commitment to the struggle for racial equality appears to have waned substantially. The Civil Rights Commission, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the Justice Department have not only abandoned their historic leadership roles, but they are now zealous and ungracious leaders of a broad retreat across terrain previously won. Black institutions and leadership structures that so effectively anchored the past struggle for change are now confronted by the need to rethink strategy and to rearm to engage new threats. These current realities require thoughtful appraisal of our achievements, clear definition of our aspirations, and development of new strategies and resources to pursue those aspirations.

For example, now that we have won access to the political arena, we are challenged to understand the power and the limitations of this access and to find ways to use it effectively in pursuit of our goals. While the broad goal of racial equality clearly continues to draw wide support, its translation into concrete programs or policies has become increasingly difficult and controversial. Much of the difficulty stems from the complexity of the social and economic issues that are now involved. Changes in the domestic and global economies, changes in public perceptions of the role of government in society, and the increasing intensity of competition for public resources are all formidable forces to be reckoned with.

These developments all speak to the need for new types of resources and new forms of leadership. The Joint Center seeks to contribute substantially to meeting these needs. We will do so through research, through the dissemination of information vital to policy making, and by engaging the best minds available to explore solutions to the problems of black America. In this effort, we explore not only how public policies and public institutions might more effectively address these problems but also how the black community with its many vital and historically vigorous institutions might play an even larger role. Today, black America is challenged more than ever to keep the wheels of progress churning through its own efforts.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Seeking a Budget Consensus

by William H. Gray III

(Congressman Gray, D-PA, is chairman of the House Budget Committee.)

As the new chairman of the House Budget Committee, I welcome the challenge posed by the budget battles to come during President Reagan's second term. But I fear that we face a time of grave crisis.

The federal government is now operating under a set of policies that could wreck our economy. As a nation we are spending roughly $200 billion more than we take in—and we are spending unwisely and taxing unfairly. This year, we will become a debtor nation; by the end of the decade, we will be carrying the largest debt of any nation in the world.

The Effect of Administration Policy

This will occur because of the policies of the current administration, which has deliberately chosen to finance a massive military buildup with borrowed money. In the short term, this approach is clever in the extreme: Americans want a militarily strong nation, and few among us are likely to object to having our taxes cut.

In the long term, however, we will have to borrow billions of dollars from abroad just to pay the interest on our debt, and, in turn, spend more and more of our resources on interest payments to foreign creditors. Our standard of living will be at risk. Instead of becoming richer as a nation, we will gradually become poorer as a people.

And I fear that the poorest and weakest among us will suffer the most. In the past few years, a majority of Americans have put the poor, the jobless, and the homeless out of mind; the middle class is thriving and simply prefers not to share its good fortune with those left behind. As for the administration, its policy makers seem unconcerned with what is fair and effective for this segment of the population. For example:

- Is it fair and effective to slash or kill almost every program that provides aid to our cities? Do we so quickly forget the recent predictions of imminent urban decay? Many of our cities have made remarkable comebacks, but the partnership with the federal government has been integral to this recovery. The entire nation has a stake in the health of our cities.
- Is it fair and effective to limit the access of our young people to colleges and universities in an era when economic advancement depends on education?
- Is it fair and effective to cut back on health, nutrition, child care, and housing at a time when poverty is on the increase?
- Is it fair and effective to increase Pentagon spending by $34 billion, while cutting domestic spending by more than $40 billion, as the president has proposed?

Since President Reagan took office, eight million more Americans have fallen below the poverty line, 325,000 more men and women have become unemployed, and the largest tax cut in our history has redistributed income to the wealthy, while those with incomes below $20,000 have recouped less in tax cuts than they lost as a result of cuts in federal assistance. Defense spending has escalated, as have losses of life because of military interventions in Lebanon, Grenada, and Central America. The structural deficit resulting from rising defense spending and declining revenues threatens to hike interest rates and choke off what modest reductions there have been in unemployment during the past year.

Furthermore, as the widely respected Children's Defense Fund (CDF) has pointed out, our youth, the most vulnerable segment of our society, have born the heaviest burden created by this administration's misguided spending priorities. According to CDF, one in five American children is poor, one in two black children is poor, and two in five Hispanic children are poor. And school lunch, school breakfast, child care food and summer food programs have been reduced 29 percent, or over $5 billion between fiscal years 1982 to 1985.

My Task as Budget Chairman

As Budget Committee Chairman, I will attempt to build a consensus to change these policies *before* our nation is plunged into economic and social crisis. I will listen to everyone, consult with all parties and regions, and seek policy agreement among them. I believe that a consensus can be developed within the Congress. Many of my Republican colleagues agree that Pentagon spending must be brought under control. They agree also that the draconian cuts proposed in the Reagan budget should not be adopted.

The roadblock is at the White House. If President Reagan insists that the military buildup cannot be restrained, and if he insists that deficit reductions can come only by cutting back on aid to the poor, the elderly, students, and cities, then Congress will be unable to take the hard but necessary steps required to put the nation on more sound economic footing. Such an outcome would be tragic.

Even with the president's active leadership, it will be extremely difficult to solve the problem of the deficit. Lowering the deficit below $100 billion by 1988 will require reductions totaling about $160 billion that year. Achieving this goal will also require that we face difficult choices in every area of the budget and that all Americans—except the poor—share in the sacrifice.

Theoretically, we can achieve our goal in many different ways. Our challenge is to do so fairly and responsibly, to achieve dynamic growth while remaining compassionate.

Some will say this is impossible. But I believe growth and compassion are compatible. The greatest times in our history have come when we have been able to expand on both these fronts. Individuals and government must become partners if we are to reach this goal. We must have a vital, innovative business sector as well as trained, skilled, educated, healthy people. We will need policies that create new industries and new jobs rather than dividing this nation between rich and poor. We must encourage hard work and the desire to advance, and strengthen the instinct to share and to help others.

Our goal must be to create a nation rich in material goods *and* rich in justice—one in which the next generation is not saddled with a huge national debt and in which the government plays its rightful role, ensuring that our children have a full and equal opportunity for education, jobs, and growth.

Caring for Young Mothers

by Marian Wright Edelman

(Ms. Edelman is president of the Children's Defense Fund and a member of the JCPS Board of Governors. On February 27, the Joint Center and the Children's Defense Fund convened a meeting of black elected and appointed state officials in Washington, D.C. to discuss the issues Ms. Edelman addresses in this article.)

Adolescent parenthood makes economic success a distant dream, especially for poor and minority youth. Teen mothers are three times more likely to be single parents than women who become mothers in their twenties. They are less likely to complete high school or go on to college and, consequently, much more likely to have low incomes. Over 47 percent of all female-headed families are poor, and over 77 percent of all young (under age 25) female-headed families are poor.

More than 56 percent of black babies are born to never-married single mothers, and families headed by these mothers are four times more likely to be poor than two-parent families. Nearly 84 percent of black mothers 25 and under are poor. And their babies are significantly more likely to be born at low birthweight and, therefore, at substantially higher risk of death and birth defects. These babies are also more likely to be admitted to a hospital because of an accident or gastrointestinal infection during their first five years.

Prenatal Care Campaign

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) has launched a comprehensive prenatal care outreach and action campaign to promote better health among young mothers and their babies. Through this campaign, we hope to expand funding for and access to prenatal care for adolescent and poor mothers; educate communities about the importance of ensuring that young mothers receive care; and involve community and public decision makers in setting and implementing goals to make certain that the number of babies born to mothers without prenatal care actually decreases significantly over the next five years.

Early and continuous care of pregnant teens is important for several reasons.

Prenatal care will save thousands of infant lives and prevent birth defects. Nothing is as tragic as the death of a baby. Yet, if current trends are permitted to continue, between now and 1990, 22,000 American babies will die, primarily because they were born too small to survive. At least 1 in 8—or 2,700—of these deaths could be prevented simply by ensuring that the mothers receive early and comprehensive prenatal care. Thousands more infants will die from causes related to low birthweight; they might also be saved if their mothers receive adequate prenatal care. And prenatal care could help prevent thousands more infants from being born handicapped for life.

Teens are more likely than adult mothers to have low birthweight babies and to lack prenatal care. Although births to teens represent only 14 percent of all babies born in the United States each year, 20 percent of all low birthweight babies are born to teens. Because low birthweight is so strongly associated with infant death and handicaps, the thousands of babies who die each year in America are disproportionately the children of teenage mothers. Teenage girls age 14 and under may face significant health risks from pregnancy.

Prenatal care is an area where we can articulate clear goals and track progress. In 1979, the Surgeon General of the United States first issued three modest, achievable Objectives for the Nation.

- By 1990, the proportion of women in any county or racial or ethnic group who obtain no prenatal care during the first trimester of pregnancy should not exceed 10 percent.
- By 1990, the national infant mortality rate should be reduced to no more than 9 deaths per thousand live births. By 1990, no county and no racial or ethnic subgroup should have an infant mortality rate in excess of 12 deaths per thousand live births.
- By 1990, low birthweight babies should constitute not more than 5 percent of all live births. By 1990, no county and no racial or ethnic group should have a rate of low birthweight infants that exceeds 9 percent of all live births.

These goals were reaffirmed by the current Surgeon General in 1984. If we are to reach them—and we can—we must make a renewed and systematic effort.

Currently, the nation is making insufficient progress toward reaching these goals. Among young, poor, minority pregnant women, progress has been reversed. The percentage of babies born at low birthweight has remained essentially unchanged since 1979, and the percentage of babies born to women who began prenatal care early in pregnancy is dramatically below what it should be if we are to meet our 1990 goal.

Throughout the 1970s, prenatal care statistics improved steadily. In 1969, 68 percent of all women began care early in their pregnancies; by 1979, that figure had grown to 76 percent. By 1982, however, the improvements in prenatal care had all but come to a halt, and the percentage of babies born to black women who began prenatal care early actually began to decline, from 62 percent in 1981 to 61 percent in 1982. This erosion in early prenatal care rates was accompanied by national increases in 1982 in the percentage of women receiving little or no prenatal care—from 4 to 5 percent of white mothers, and from 9 to 10 percent of black mothers.

If this national stagnation in the number of low birthweight babies and erosion in prenatal care is allowed to continue, by 1990, at best, only 79.2 percent rather than 90 percent of women will begin prenatal care early in pregnancy. In order to achieve the Surgeon General's 1990 goals for prenatal care, we estimate that, between now and 1990, the nation will have to increase its annual rate of improvement by 600 percent a year.

Prenatal care saves money and reduces the number of low-birthweight babies in the most cost-effective way. Over the past two decades, almost all of our progress in reducing infant mortality has resulted not from producing healthy newborns through adequate prenatal care, but by caring, at great expense, for prematurely born infants.

America has led the world in its ability to save very tiny infants from death through the development of miraculous hospital services for newborns. But we also lead the industrialized world in the percentage of low birthweight babies born each year who are in desperate need of saving.

The cost of caring for these babies averages $1,000 per day. Because of the pervasive poverty among these infants and their families, many have no means to pay for this care. Today, two-thirds of the 13.3 million children living in poverty are completely uninsured or are insured for only part of each year. Without insurance coverage, their families are in no position to afford the cost of treating a sick infant.

Until recently, these poor and uninsured babies and their parents relied on charity services and "fat" in hospital budgets to pick up the cost of their care. But such reliance may be coming to an end, as cost containment and competition for shrinking health care resources increasingly force hospitals to curtail or eliminate the amount of subsidized care they provide. As a result, the nation's entire approach to infant mortality reduction, which has emphasized spending on costly and heroic efforts rather than investing in preventive services is threatened.

Comprehensive prenatal care is a way to link teens to the health care system during the first pregnancy, to improve the health of their babies, and to counsel them on ways to avoid repeat pregnancies. Over 22 percent of teen mothers have another child. Yet there are examples of success in preventing repeat pregnancy through comprehensive health outreach and access to care. For example, in St. Paul, Minnesota, comprehensive school-based clinics have succeeded in keeping in school many pregnant girls who would otherwise have dropped out and in reducing the percentage of repeat pregnancies among girls who stay in school to only 1.4 percent.

The Role of Elected Officials

Elected officials should pay close attention to such matters as the teenage pregnancy and infant mortality rates within their states. The Medicaid participation rate by poor mothers and children also bears watching. These are all potential indicators of the need for elected officials to ensure that adequate services are in place for poor mothers and children. The *Data Book*, a CDF publication listing state-by-state statistics, enables elected officials to make quick comparisons between their state and others (e.g., see table for data on births to teens).

Such monitoring should help us advance toward the Surgeon General's Objectives for the Nation. At current rates of progress, 46 states will fail to meet the goal of providing prenatal care to at least 90 percent of pregnant women; 37 states will fall short of the targets concerning low birthweight babies, and 7 states will miss the goals for reducing infant mortality. The *Data Book* shows how far away each state is from these goals, and it tells how much progress will be required yearly to meet the goals.

One initiative that could help all states move closer to these goals would be to establish more school-based comprehensive clinics for teens. Such clinics, like the model program in St. Paul, have proven extremely effective in reaching teens and providing them with vitally important health information and services. As general health centers, they provide everything from immunization to treatment of athletes to pregnancy testing and counseling. Parental consent has never been an issue, because these clinics are multipurpose health centers that students visit for general health maintenance. The clinics do, however, have an outstanding record of persuading young women to seek prenatal care, to avoid a second pregnancy, and to stay in school. I encourage elected officials to seek funds from their own states to set up similar programs within schools in their districts. Officials may find that they can fund the clinics with state dollars earmarked for health care or with education money.

We must recognize that no one of us knows what will work completely or has *the* answer. We must commit ourselves to testing over a period of time a wide range of approaches until we hit upon the ones that do work for various target groups. At all costs, we should seek to avoid political quick fixes, proliferation of unevaluated models, or program by press.

Moralizing will not solve the teen pregnancy problem. But moral adult examples and efforts to provide constructive alternatives to young people will certainly help. This is a complex puzzle that we can solve only by working together thoughtfully and systematically over a long period of time.

Percentage of Babies Born to Teens, 1982

State	Nonwhite	Total
AL	25.6	18.9
AK	16.1	10.9
AZ	21.1	15.6
AR	29.2	20.8
CA	20.1*	12.6
CO	13.2	12.0
CT	23.2	10.7
DE	29.8	16.3
DC	22.8*	19.7
FL	25.7	16.4
GA	26.6*	18.8
HI	12.1	10.9
ID	—	12.1
IL	28.2	16.2
IN	25.7*	15.2
IA	21.4	10.7
KS	21.4	13.4
KY	23.8	19.5
LA	24.9	18.7
ME	—	13.1
MD	22.4*	14.0
MA	14.9	9.7
MI	22.5	12.8
MN	17.0	8.9
MS	28.7	21.9
MO	25.4	14.9
MT	—	11.4
NE	23.9*	10.5
NV	25.5*	14.5
NH	—	10.2
NJ	24.6	11.5
NM	19.0	17.4
NY	18.2	11.3
NC	25.1	17.7
ND	20.1	10.0
OH	23.1	14.2
OK	25.4*	18.3
OR	14.6	11.8
PA	24.5	12.8
RI	19.2	11.3
SC	24.7	18.5
SD	—	12.0
TN	25.9	18.7
TX	25.5	17.0
UT	12.7	10.2
VT	—	10.9
VA	21.7	13.8
WA	15.3	10.9
WV	19.1	18.4
WI	25.9	11.0
WY	20.0	13.8
ALL	21.9	14.2

*Data is for blacks only.

Source: CDF *Data Book*.

Black Economic Progress

by Andrew F. Brimmer

(Mr. Brimmer is president of Brimmer & Company, Inc., an economic and financial consulting firm. This article is an edited version of Mr. Brimmer's keynote speech at the Joint Center for Political Studies Eighth Annual Dinner.)

Over the last two years, black Americans have made moderate economic progress, evident in their expanding employment and rising incomes. This is especially true for those with marketable skills that enable them to get and hold jobs in a labor market where competition is becoming ever more vigorous.

These gains are a marked turnaround from blacks' experience during the two recessions that plagued the economy in 1980 and in 1981-82. The black unemployment rate rose from 12.2 percent in December 1979 to 20.9 percent at the end of 1982. The comparable increase for whites was from 5.2 percent to 9.6 percent, and for the total civilian labor force, it was from 6.0 percent to 10.7 percent. Thus, blacks bore a disproportionately large share of the overall loss of jobs caused by the recessions earlier in this decade.

Employment and Income

But the strong expansion of the economy during the last two years has cut deeply into the backlog of unemployment generally, and blacks as well as whites have benefited from the decline in joblessness.

At the close of 1984, 1.8 million black workers were unemployed; two years earlier, this total was 2.4 million. This reduction represented 15.4 percent of the decline in total unemployment. On the other hand, blacks were still disproportionately unemployed: although they accounted for 10.8 percent of the civilian labor force, they were 23.5 percent of all persons unemployed at the end of 1984.

Nevertheless, many blacks took advantage of the employment opportunities created by the expanding economy. At the trough of the last recession in December 1982, they held 9.2 million jobs—9.2 percent of total employment. At the end of 1984, blacks held 10.5 million jobs—9.8 percent of total employment. So, over the last two years of economic expansion, black employment climbed by 1.3 million or 18.1 percent of the net increase of 7.2 million in civilian employment over this period. Thus, while blacks held just under one in ten jobs at the bottom of the last recession, they landed more than one in six of the new jobs created by the strong pace of economic growth during the last two years.

The deterioration and recovery in black employment were paralleled by changes in blacks' money income. The two recessions in the early 1980s dampened the growth of black income more than white income. But the last two years of economic expansion boosted black income proportionately more. In 1983, blacks received 7.2 percent of total money income—up from the 6.9 percent recorded in 1982 and back to the proportion reported prior to the 1981-82 recession. I estimate that blacks' share of income reached 7.6 percent in 1984 (Census Bureau data on 1984 income will not be available until this summer), and it may climb to 7.9 percent this year.

If per capita money income is used as a gauge, blacks' improvement over the past two years appears even greater. The ratio of black to white per capita income rose from 54.1 percent in 1982 to an estimated 59.0 percent in 1984. These figures reflect the fact that blacks' income gains considerably exceeded the growth rate of the black population.

Median family income, a more commonly used measure, shows greater deterioration in blacks' relative position over the last decade—and less improvement in recent years. This summary figure, however, ignores the considerable improvement achieved by better prepared black families. It is also held down by the experience of those black families stagnating at the lower end of the income scale. This is particularly true of such families headed by black females.

Although blacks as a group have been making moderate improvements in their relative income position, the gains have not extended throughout the community. While the degree of inequality in income distribution between blacks and whites has eased somewhat, the degree of inequality within the black community has become more extreme.

The persistent economic inequality of blacks has sparked a vigorous debate over the best way to reduce it. For the most part, civil rights leaders have looked to the federal government for both laws and financial resources to improve the lot of black citizens. They turned to the federal government because they believed that neither the private sector nor state and local authorities could be relied on to provide much assistance. For this reason, most traditional black leaders have been strong supporters not only of antidiscrimination laws but also of increased federal government spending—especially on programs such as food stamps, public housing, welfare assistance, Medicare, aid to education, manpower training, public service jobs, and affirmative action to erase the remaining vestiges of racial discrimination.

Many of these programs were part of the Great Society promoted by President Lyndon Johnson in the 1960s. They have also been among the chief targets of President Reagan's budget-cutters.

Over the last few years, a band of black conservatives has emerged as severe critics of the liberal economic and social policies advocated for so long by leaders of the civil rights movement. The most prominent of these new black voices are economists, but they also include businessmen and black professionals.

These black conservatives—who sound exactly like their white counterparts—say that blacks have become too dependent on federal government programs, which they disparage as handouts. They have a long list of public policies which they oppose—including the minimum wage, rent controls, and affirmative action. They urge blacks to look more to the private marketplace for jobs and income. Their message is aimed particularly at young people whose careers are still ahead of them.

I agree with the black conservatives on this last point. For a number of years, I have stressed the need for blacks to avoid being overly dependent on the federal government.

Prescription for Progress

Historically, blacks have been far more dependent on the public sector than have whites. For example, in the nation at large, blacks held 9.5 percent of all jobs in the economy in 1982. They held 9.6 percent of all private sector jobs—but 14.8 percent of those in

(Continued on page 8)

Telescope

Reagan Administration Proposes Cutbacks in Food Programs for the Poor

Buried beneath the Reagan administration's proposed budget cuts in programs for the middle class—college student loans, farm aid, military pensions, etc.—are some very substantial cuts in low-income programs. Over the next few years, nearly one-fifth of the administration's total package of proposed budget cuts would come from low-income programs, even though these programs account for only one-tenth of the total budget, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

A case in point is Women, Infants, and Children, a program that provides food supplements to low-income pregnant women, infants, and young children who are at nutritional risk. Although WIC has been highly praised for its effectiveness in lowering the incidence of low birthweights, one of the leading causes of infant mortality, the administration is proposing to leave in the treasury $76 million of the $1.5 billion that Congress has already appropriated to the program for FY 1985. At least 237,000 of the 3.1 million WIC recipients would lose their benefits this summer as a result.

For FY 1986, the administration has requested only $1.480 billion for WIC. This is less than the amount appropriated last year and less than the $1.569 billion the Congressional Budget Office says is needed to sustain the current WIC caseload. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities estimates that roughly 175,000 low-income women, infants, and children would have to be dropped from the program.

The administration has proposed shutting down some low-income food programs, including an anti-hunger program that provides $50 million a year to states for distribution to food banks, emergency food agencies, and soup kitchens. Local charities use this aid to cover storage and handling costs of distributing federal surplus foods. The administration would also eliminate a $70 million program that provides funds to charities to help distribute emergency food and shelter to the indigent and homeless.

The administration has also proposed cutbacks in Medicaid over the next three years that are double those of Reagan's first three years in office. Medicaid provides health care coverage for poor families with children and for poor elderly and disabled people.

Black Jobless Rate Up in February

The unemployment rate for blacks jumped to 16.3 percent in February, up from 14.9 percent in January. It had been declining steadily over the previous several months. Nearly all of the increase was for adult men and women.

The increase in black unemployment occurred despite an increase in overall employment in February. The unemployment rate for whites during the same period was 6.2 percent. Officials at the Bureau of Labor Statistics stated that because the monthly figures for blacks vary more than those for whites, it is difficult to tell yet whether the already large gap in black to white unemployment is widening.

The unemployment rate for black youth, 43.1 percent, was virtually unchanged from January, but it is still nearly triple the 15.2 percent unemployment rate for white youth.

JCPS Gets New Director of Marketing

Carl Edward Cook joined the Joint Center's staff as director of marketing in February. He will direct the marketing of JCPS publications, conferences, and other services. Previously, Mr. Cook was manager of the Marketing Division Research and Analysis Department at Blue Cross/Blue Shield in Detroit, Michigan. He has also worked in product planning and marketing for Volkswagen of America, the Ford Motor Company, and the 3M Company.

Legislative Fellowships on Women and Public Policy

The Center for Women in Government offers legislative fellowships on women and public policy to provide an opportunity for graduate students to gain experience in the legislative process and on women's issues. Fellows will work with a legislator or legislative committee in the New York state legislature for 30 hours each week and will complete three seminars on policy making and its impact on women and families. They will earn a stipend of $9,000 and 12 graduate credits for the period from January to July 1986. Applicants must be enrolled in a New York state graduate school, have completed 12 graduate credit hours, and have demonstrated an interest in improving the status of women through their research, employment, or voluntary activities. The program is open to graduate students from all disciplines. The deadline for applications is June 14, 1985.

The Center for Women in Government is a unit of the Institute for Government and Policy Studies, Rockefeller College, at the State University of New York. For more information contact Fredda Merzon, director of training, or Maud Easter, fellowship coordinator, Center for Women in Government, State University of New York at Albany, Draper Hall, Room 302, 1400 Washington Avenue, Albany, New York 12222; telephone, 518/455-6211.

Vote Recount in Indiana Contested

The NAACP has filed a lawsuit in the U.S. District Court charging that a disproportionate number of black votes were disqualified in the contested election for Indiana's 8th Congressional District seat. Following the election in November, Republican Richard D. McIntyre, who lost to Democratic incumbent Frank McCloskey by a slim margin, demanded a recount of the ballots. As a result, several thousand votes were thrown out for minor technical reasons such as the poll clerks' initials or the precinct numbers being absent from the ballot, even though the candidate preference of the voter was clearly identified.

Thirty percent of the votes disqualified were from the 4th Ward in Evansville, where blacks comprise a majority of the residents. In other counties in the district with a very low percentage of blacks, all of the votes were counted, even those without the poll clerks' initials or the precinct numbers. McIntyre gained a 418-vote lead following the recount.

The U.S. House of Representatives has voted to leave Indiana's 8th Congressional District seat vacant until the Committee on House Administration, which is investigating the controversial vote recount in that district, decides which candidate should fill the seat.

. . . Economic Progress

(Continued from page 6)

the public sector. They accounted for 18.5 percent of all federal government jobs, and they made up 13.9 percent of state and local government payrolls. Furthermore, public sector employment accounted for one-fifth of all jobs held by blacks. The corresponding figure for whites was one-eighth.

Jobs held by blacks on public payrolls bring them much higher incomes than they have traditionally earned in the private sector. Whites also earn more in public employment, but the favorable margin is smaller. For the average black male employee, a government position paid $13,979 in 1982—or 22 percent more than the $11,922 average private sector job. But, for the average white male worker, the margin was only 6.7 percent ($19,731 vs. $18,485). Now, however, since the role of the federal government will be shrinking in the future, blacks will have to compete for a larger share of jobs in the private sector.

To make genuine progress in the future, the extremely high incidence of poverty among blacks must be reduced. This is especially true for black families headed by females, for whom the poverty rate in 1983 was 53.8 percent, compared with 28.3 percent for their white counterparts. Reflecting their desperate situation, these female-headed black families (representing 4.6 percent of all families in the nation) got 29.9 percent of all the public assistance and supplemental income in 1983.

A significant part of the public assistance was received as aid to families with dependent children. Many of these black female-headed households contain children who now represent the third generation brought up on public welfare. To arrest—and reverse—this cycle of poverty and dependency, a more vigorous effort must be made by the black community itself to reduce the extremely high birth rate among unmarried black teenage girls.

Federal government policies should also be changed to help alleviate the economic inequality from which blacks continue to suffer. Changes should include the adoption of a two-tier minimum wage, which would help to ease the excessively high levels of unemployment among black youths. A lower wage for youth—75 to 80 percent of the present minimum of $3.35 per hour—would provide an incentive for employers to put more of them on the payroll.

A vigorous campaign of affirmative action to foster job opportunities and career advancement in the private sector is also needed. But such a campaign is no longer the policy of the federal government. In fact, the Reagan administration is engaged in a campaign of active opposition. Consequently, blacks will have to press the fight themselves in the private sector. They will have to make every company personnel office a battle station in a campaign to accelerate the pace of economic progress. The business community must undertake to break down the remaining discriminatory obstacles that limit blacks' economic progress.

And blacks themselves must take advantage of improved opportunities to compete for the new jobs to be created. Successful competition will require much better preparation. The fastest growing occupations will be rooted in science and technology with a heavy reliance on computers and their applications. Traditionally, blacks have been underrepresented in these areas. Thus, if blacks are to get a share of the new jobs commensurate with their increased share of the labor force, they will have to increase dramatically their level of spending on the education of their children.

The magnitude of the individual effort required is illustrated by data on the family income and parents' financial contribution for college students, by race, in 1982. The average income of black families with children in college was $18,200, and the average for whites was $28,900. The average contribution by black families for their children's education was $930. The average white families' contribution was $2,790. Thus, while blacks' income was just over three-fifths the income of white families, the amount blacks contributed for the college education of their children was only one-third as large as the amount contributed by their white counterparts.

In the immediate future, blacks should support the effort in Congress to prevent the Reagan administration from making drastic cuts in federal aid to college students. College education has been a major contributor to the modest economic progress blacks have been able to make, and continued federal aid is needed to sustain this progress in the future.

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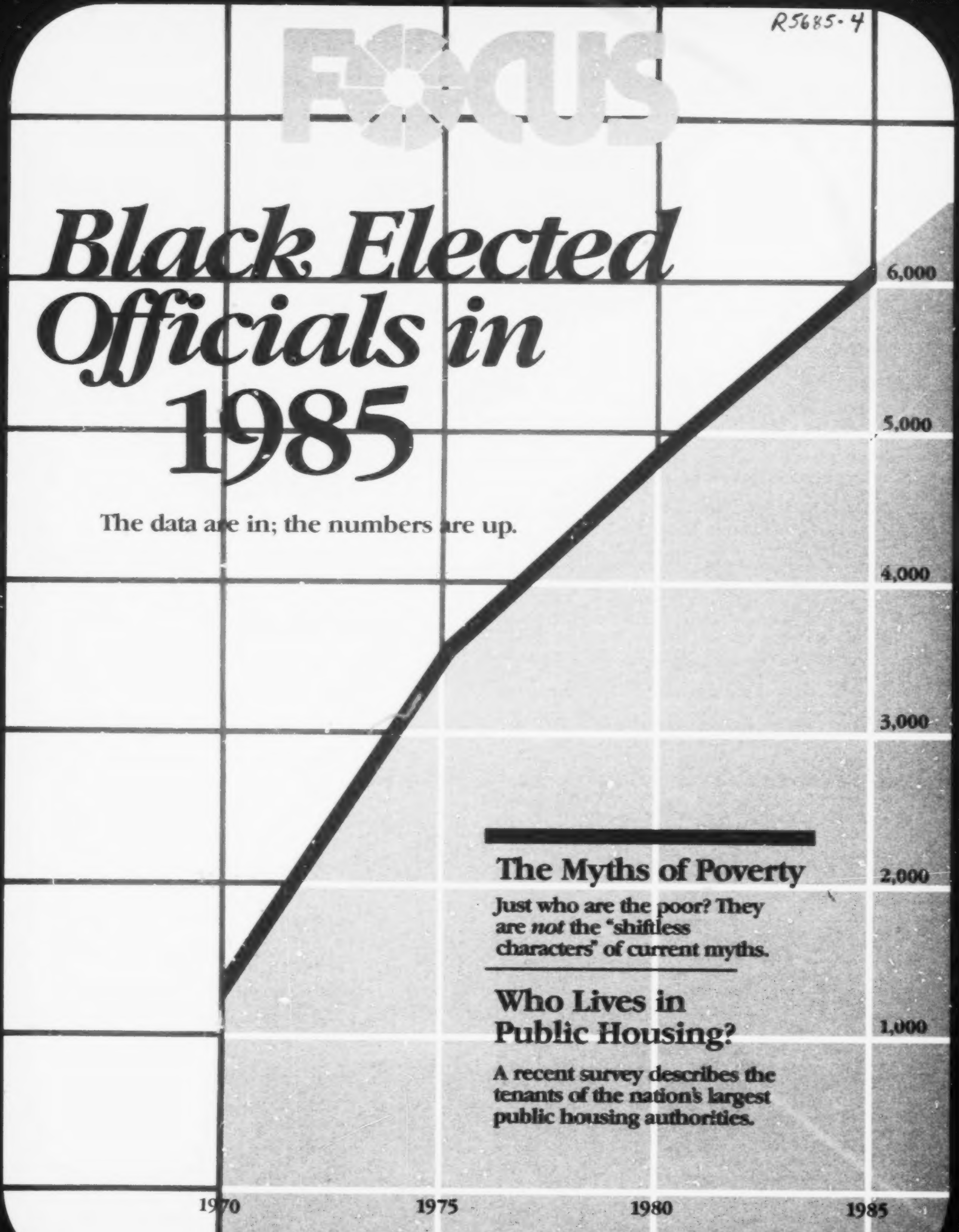

Black Elected Officials in 1985

The data are in; the numbers are up.

The Myths of Poverty

Just who are the poor? They are *not* the "shiftless characters" of current myths.

Who Lives in Public Housing?

A recent survey describes the tenants of the nation's largest public housing authorities.

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Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

In a recent speech, William S. Woodside, chairman and chief executive officer of the American Can Company, stressed the importance of public education and recommended some new initiatives business might undertake to support our schools. Mr. Woodside's remarks were timely and to the point, and I believe they deserve a wider hearing.

He began by noting that school-business partnerships are flourishing throughout the country. Several hundred corporations are involved in such partnerships, the most popular of which is the adopt-a-school program. Other arrangements include: loaned executive programs, in which senior corporate executives work in a specialized area such as administration, staff development, or resource management; curriculum renewal programs, in which corporate specialists work with educators to develop job-related courses of study; mentor programs; and equipment loan programs (which usually involve computers).

Each of these programs is important. They all demonstrate that the business community and the schools are working together for the benefit of public education. Mr. Woodside praised these programs for providing "assistance, opportunity, and support that the schools and their students otherwise might not receive." He went on to say, however, that we deceive ourselves if we believe these programs alone "can dramatically improve the majority of our nation's public schools . . . there are thousands of other schools and hundreds of thousands of children who are not being touched by our efforts."

He recommended that we look beyond individual partnership programs and focus on "system-wide issues because there are vast and fundamental improvements that must be made within our public schools. And we need to focus on the political arena because that is where the major decisions are going to be made about the funds, priorities, and programs that will make or break our system of public education."

Mr. Woodside then cited some examples of effective work in the political arena. "Corporations involved in the Memphis, Tennessee, adopt-a-school program organized a public relations campaign that helped produce an overwhelming vote in favor of a tax increase that provided additional money for that city's school system. Business groups in New Orleans and Cincinnati also have worked to help pass tax levies for the public schools."

The ultimate success of business-school partnerships, he said, will depend on the business community's influence over decisions made in city halls, in state capitols, and in Washington. Real influence will require "more than telling our lobbyists to put in a good word for public education every now and then. . . it will mean organizing ourselves into an active, sustained support mechanism on behalf of public education. It will mean building coalitions that seek major and permanent improvements."

What form might these coalitions take? They could be groupings of like-minded companies similar to the special-purpose coalitions that now exist to further shared goals in such areas as health care, industrial growth, tax reform, and international trade.

The business community, Mr. Woodside said, needs "to play an activist role in Washington because the decisions of Congress and the executive branch will set the tone for the nation as a whole. And we need to play an activist role in the state capitols because they are becoming new centers of power in determining the level of financial and programmatic support our public school systems will enjoy."

Coalition building, public-private partnerships, political involvement; all of these are approaches the Joint Center has recommended to solve some of our most vexing social problems. It is gratifying to me to see that, after studying the problems of public education, the chairman of a major American corporation recommends the same approach. Only through such combined efforts will we develop innovative programs to ensure that the current and future needs of our country will be met.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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The Myths of Poverty

by William P. O'Hare

(Dr. O'Hare is a senior research associate at the Joint Center for Political Studies.)

For once, conservatives and liberals agree; the time has come to reexamine the War on Poverty, to acknowledge its shortcomings, and to seek more effective remedies for poverty in America. The Reagan administration, the American Catholic Bishops, and the Joint Center's "Tarrytown Group" of prominent black scholars are just a few of those now ready to challenge old assumptions about causes and cures.

They have their work cut out for them. Public perceptions of poverty are clouded by a set of myths that prevent a true appraisal of the situation. Before we proceed with the debate, those myths should be debunked.

Myth 1. Most poor people are black and most black people are poor.

Neither point is true. The majority of the poor in this country are white, not black or Hispanic. Since the poverty rate for blacks (35.7 percent) is about three times that for whites (12.1 percent), many people mistakenly think that poverty in America is solely or largely a black problem. But 24 million of the 35 million persons in poverty in 1983 were white, and fewer than 10 million were black. About a third of blacks are poor, but two-thirds are not.

Furthermore, poverty is growing more rapidly among whites than blacks. Of the 10 million people added to the poverty population since 1978, almost 8 million were whites. Between 1978 and 1983, the number of whites in poverty grew by 47 percent, compared to 30 percent for blacks.

Myth 2. Most people in poverty live in inner-city ghettos.

In fact, people living in what the Census Bureau calls "poverty areas" of central cities are only 14 percent of the poor. Between 1978 and 1983, 2.5 million white suburbanites were added to the population in poverty, accounting for one quarter of the overall growth in poverty.

Myth 3. Most poor people live in female-headed households.

While it is true that a disproportionate share of poor households are headed by women, the majority of people in poverty live in married-couple families. In 1983, 12.5 million poor people lived in female-headed families, but 15.9 million poor people lived in married-couple families. Furthermore, poverty has been increasing more rapidly among persons in married-couple families than among persons in female-headed families. The number of poor persons living in families headed by females has grown by 30 percent since 1978, but the number of poor in married-couple families grew by 59 percent.

Myth 4. People are poor because they refuse to work.

Most poor people of working age in 1983 were working or looking for work. About 40 percent of poor persons 15 years old or older worked full- or part-time during 1983, and 13 percent said they were looking for work but couldn't find it. Of those in poverty who didn't work, 21 percent were ill or disabled; 17 percent were going to school (mostly high school); 14 percent were retired; 32 percent were keeping house; and 3 percent gave some other reason for not working. Of the 7.6 million families in poverty in 1983, more than half had at least one worker and over 20 percent had two or more workers. A person working 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, at minimum wage ($3.35 per hour) would not earn enough to lift a family of three out of poverty.

Myth 5. Poor people just live off government welfare programs.

Only about one-third of poor families in 1983 received public assistance payments, and about 40 percent of poor households received no major means-tested noncash benefits such as food stamps, free or reduced-price school lunch, public housing, or Medicaid. Only 43 percent of poor households received food stamps; 23 percent lived in publicly owned housing or received rent subsidies from the government; and only 39 percent have one or more members covered by Medicaid. To put these numbers in perspective, about 30 percent of the total U.S. population—poor or not—receives benefits from one or more government programs such as social security, Medicare, railroad retirement, unemployment, veterans' benefits, or workman's compensation.

Myth 6. The poor will always be with us.

Actually, this is two myths in one: first, the share of the population that is poor remains constant, and second, poverty is a permanent condition.

The poverty rate dropped from about 30 percent in 1950 to about 11 percent in 1973. It has now climbed to 15.2 percent. And the conditions of the 1950s and 1960s reduced the poverty rate by about two-thirds without stifling economic growth. As the poverty rate fell from 22.2 percent in 1960 to 12.6 percent in 1970, real median family income grew by 34 percent. Clearly, there is no fixed portion of the population that is doomed to be in poverty.

Nor is poverty necessarily a permanent condition for the individuals who make up the statistics. Although the matter is still open to controversy, recent evidence suggests that most poor people are poor only for a short period of time.

According to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, which has tracked the economic fortunes of 5,000 families since 1968, almost a quarter of the population was poor for one or more years between 1969 and 1978, but only 2.6 percent were poor for eight or more of the ten years. And the same study found that most young adults who came from families that were in poverty and received welfare did not themselves live in poverty or receive welfare. The evidence we have to date seems to indicate that there is very little intergenerational transfer of poverty or welfare dependence.

Myth 7. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Unfortunately, this is not a myth. As the number of people in poverty grew from 24.5 million in 1978 to 35.3 million in 1983, the share of families with incomes over $35,000 (in constant 1983 dollars) grew from 26.7 to 29.6 percent of all families. Furthermore, between 1978 and 1983, the gap between the average income of the poor and the poverty threshold grew from $3,618 to $4,020 (expressed in 1983 dollars).

(Continued on page 7)

6.2 Percent More BEOs in 1985

The number of black elected officials rose by 6.2 percent nationwide last year, reports the Joint Center for Political Studies, which has conducted an annual census of black officials since 1970. Between January 1984 and January 1985, the total number increased from 5,700 to 6,056. Last year's increase was 1.7 percent.

Some 85 percent of the increase took place in the South, which contains 53 percent of the country's black population and 63 percent of all black elected officials. Alabama had a net gain of 61; South Carolina, 47; Georgia, 39; and Louisiana, 37. Louisiana, where 27 percent of the voting-age population is black, remains the state with the largest number of black elected officials—475—followed by Mississippi, with a 31 percent black voting-age population and 444 black officials.

The increases were spread across all levels of office except federal, where Katie Hall's (D-IN) defeat in the May 1984 primary reduced the number of black members of Congress to 20. The number of black mayors increased by 31, to 286—the largest increase of any year since the center began counting. Black elected officials remain disproportionately concentrated in municipal offices—mostly city councils; some 48 percent of black officials are municipal officials, while only 27 percent of all elected officials fall in that category.

Some significant firsts in 1984:

- New York State gained its first black mayor: Ronald A. Blackwood, in Mount Vernon.
- Pennsylvania got its first black woman state senator: Roxanne Jones, from Philadelphia. Yvonne Miller of Norfolk, Virginia, is the first black woman since Reconstruction to win election to the state House of Delegates. Oregon got its first black woman in the state legislature: Margaret Carter, from Portland.
- Alabama elected its first black woman judge, Jo Celeste Pettway.

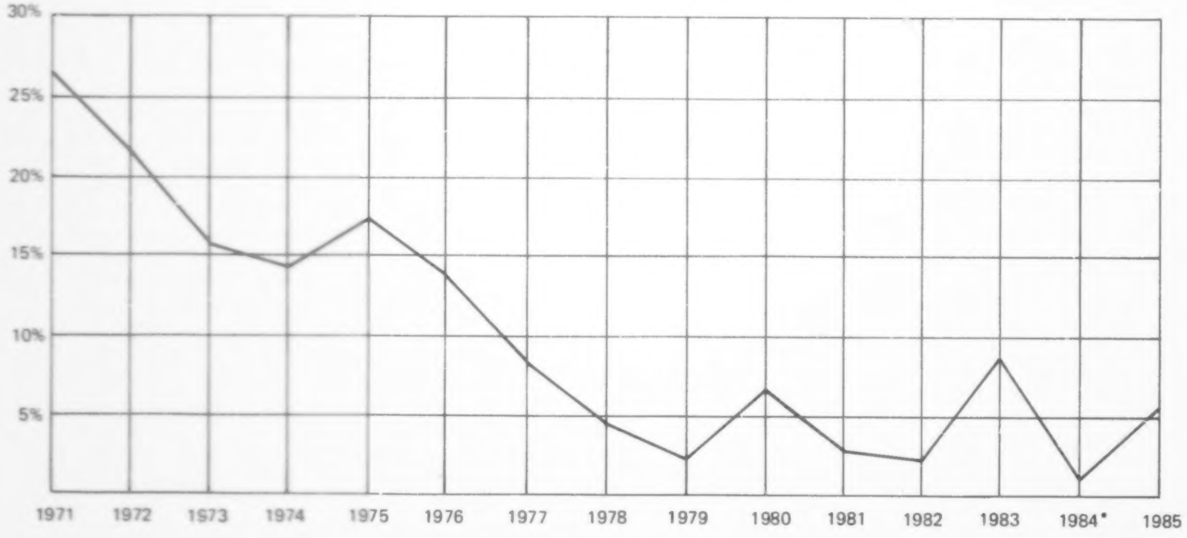
Despite these firsts and the 6.2 percent overall increase, however, blacks still hold only 1.2 percent of the 490,800 elective offices in the country. Black elected officials continue to be concentrated in black majority districts and generally depend on the black electorate for victory.

The number of black women in office continues to grow at a faster rate than the number of black men. In January 1985, there were 1,358 black women in office, an increase of 99, or 8 percent, over the previous year—as compared to a 5.7 percent increase for black male officeholders. Black women now make up 22.4 percent of all blacks in elective office.

Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, comments: "This year's growth in the number of black elected officials makes clear that on its twentieth anniversary, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is still an important tool for expanding black access to the political system. The impressive gains in the South were due, in part, to proceedings under various sections of the act that reduced vote dilution and other discriminatory mechanisms. And, of course, in 1984 we witnessed an unprecedented number of voter registration activities in black communities throughout the country. As voter participation increases, blacks win a greater share of elective offices and thus a stronger voice to defend their own interests."

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1985, which contains detailed statistics and a complete listing of blacks in elective office as of January 31, 1985, will be published in June by UNIPUB. Copies may be ordered by calling 800-521-8110; in Michigan, Canada, Alaska, and Hawaii call 313-761-4700.

Annual rate of increase in number of black elected officials, 1971-1985.



*The 1984 figures reflect blacks who took office during the seven-month period between July 1, 1983 and January 30, 1984.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, January 1985

			Federal		State			Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
State	Total	Net Change Since January 1984	Senators	Representatives	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshalls	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	375	61				5	19			38		14	31	179			2	1	9	20	4	5				47	1
Alaska	3	1					1																			2	
Arizona	11	−3					2			1				4						1						3	
Arkansas	317	21				1	4						21	131			17		1	40					1	101	
California	296	38		4		2	6	4		6	1	1	9	40	5		3	1	74		1				17	121	1
Colorado	15	0				1	2							3					4		1					4	
Connecticut	68	−1			1	3	7						1	34	5		1			3						13	
Delaware	22	0				1	2						1	10												8	
Dist. of Columbia	252	0		1									1	9		232										9	
Florida	167	36				2	10			4	3		11	100	2		1	1	15			1				15	2
Georgia	340	39				6	21			54		4	15	161	1		2		13	2	1	1				57	2
Hawaii	1	0																								1	
Idaho	0	0																									
Illinois	357	−2		3	1	6	14	3		31	1		19	130	39		14		24							70	
Indiana	68	1				2	6			12		1	1	31		3	2		3							7	
Iowa	9	4				1				2				1											1	4	
Kansas	29	2				1	3			2			1	7	1		2		3							9	
Kentucky	55	−2				1	1			1			4	31					2	2		1	1			11	
Louisiana	475	37				4	14			114	2		18	141					6	41	1	11				123	
Maine	1	−1															1										
Maryland	97	6		1		5	19			3			7	41			1	1	11		3					5	
Massachusetts	32	0				1	4			1				14	3											9	
Michigan	300	3		2	1	3	14			24		2	15	73			21		51	4				1	15	74	
Minnesota	9	0					1							3					2			1				2	
Mississippi	444	14				2	18			38	31	5	21	162			6	1	1	64	5	4				79	7
Missouri	156	5		2		3	12			3			13	90			5		8		2	2			2	14	
Montana	0	0																									
Nebraska	4	0				1								1												2	
Nevada	9	−1				1	2			1				2					1	1					1		
New Hampshire	0	0																									
New Jersey	200	4				1	6			8		1	11	87			1									85	
New Mexico	5	−1								1			1	2												1	
New York	246	6		3		4	16			8			2	27	5		1	1	43	1						135	
North Carolina	291	−3				3	13	1		31	1	1	18	144				1	8		2	2				66	
North Dakota	0	0																									
Ohio	196	−3		1		2	10			1			11	94	2		8		27					1		39	
Oklahoma	122	0				2	3			2			16	50			25		1			1				22	
Oregon	11	4				1	2							3	1				2							2	
Pennsylvania	138	−3		1		3	15						4	43			4	1	25	25	1					16	
Rhode Island	8	1				1	3							2												2	
South Carolina	310	47				4	16			56	1	3	13	113	2							3			1	95	3
South Dakota	0	0																									
Tennessee	138	5		1		3	10			48			1	35					11	6		1				22	
Texas	260	32		1		1	13			11			10	107	1				7	19		1		1	4	84	
Utah	1	0				1																					
Vermont	1	0					1																				
Virginia	116	9				2	5			31		5	7	57			2				5	2					
Virgin Islands	40	−6			1	8			24															7			
Washington	16	1				1	2						2	4					2							5	
West Virginia	20	1					1						1	13			2		2	1							
Wisconsin	22	3				1	3			2				9					3			1				3	
Wyoming	3	1					1							1												1	
Total	6,056	356		20	4	90	302	8	24	534	40	37	286	2,189	67	235	121	8	359	230	26	37	1	10	44	1368	16

Who Lives in Public Housing?

This article is based on A Survey of Tenant Characteristics and Admission and Assignment Policies at the Nation's Large Housing Authorities, *a report published by the Citizens Housing and Planning Association.*

Who will be hardest hit by reductions in federal support for public housing? Elected officials—especially state and local officials in areas with large public housing populations—should know the answer to this question so they can address the needs of constituents who depend on public housing. In May 1984, as an initial step toward describing the nation's public housing population, the Citizens Housing and Planning Association (CHAPA) distributed a survey on tenant characteristics to the nation's 133 largest public housing authorities (those managing over 1,250 units). Sixty-four PHAs or 48 percent of the authorities responded, and responses were received from authorities in every region of the country. Fifteen of the authorities manage over 5,000 units. In all, the responding authorities manage 477,355 units or approximately 40 percent of the nation's public housing stock.

Because each of the authorities surveyed manages 1,250 or more units, the results of the survey reflect the characteristics of large, primarily urban, housing authorities and *not* necessarily those of the nation's entire public housing stock.

In order to encourage the authorities to respond openly, CHAPA agreed not to identify them. However, because the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) manages almost one-third of the units in the survey, it agreed to be identified so that the impact of its units on the results could be clearly displayed.

Most of the questions on the survey and the survey results focus on the characteristics of the *families rather than the elderly population* in public housing. (78 percent of the units in the survey are family units and 22 percent are elderly units.)

Race in Public Housing

The survey results make it clear that large public housing authorities provide shelter for a predominantly minority population and that the proportion of public housing units occupied by minorities will continue to grow. Of the family units surveyed, only 14 percent are occupied by white families (not including Hispanics) if New York's units are included and under 19 percent if they are not. If the survey results are limited to those PHAs managing over 5,000 units, the percentage of units occupied by minorities increases from 85.90 to 92.80 percent.

Blacks constitute the predominant racial group in family public housing. Currently, they occupy 64.40 percent of the units sampled if New York is included and 68.64 percent if it is not. Hispanic families occupy 17.90 percent of units with New York but only 7.60 percent without it. Asians and others occupy only a very small portion of the total number of units: less than 4 percent overall.

One-quarter (26 percent) of the authorities surveyed have tenant populations in which 90 percent or more units are occupied by blacks; almost 65 percent said that at least 50 percent of their units are occupied by black families. Ten are over 95 percent black; most of these are located in the South.

Assuming that existing policies concerning admission remain largely unchanged, the waiting list population indicates who will be in public housing in the future. New York City is not included in the waiting list analysis.

The proportion of white families on the waiting list for public housing is approximately 7 percentage points below the proportion of whites who now live in public housing: 11.34 vs. 18.79 percent. This means that in the future, the public housing population will contain an even higher proportion of minorities than at present.

As shown in the tables on page 8, the study found significant regional variations in the racial and ethnic compositions of public housing and waiting list populations. (The New York City Housing Authority was not included in the regional analysis.) For example, although the national sample shows that white families currently occupy 14.10 percent of the units and make up 11.34 percent of the families on the waiting list, white families in the South are only 8.46 percent of the resident families and only 6.2 percent of those on the waiting list.

In the Northwest, however, the proportion of white families is not only much greater than it is in the South or nationwide, but it is greater on the waiting list than in the resident population. This indicates that the proportion of whites in the Northwest is likely to increase rather than decrease in the future. White families currently occupy 32.84 percent of the units in that region, and they make up 43.15 percent of the families on the waiting list.

Family Composition and Income

Of the units surveyed, 54 percent are currently occupied by female-headed households if New York City is included and 69 percent if it is not. Eighty-five percent of the responding authorities reported that at least 50 percent of their family units are occupied by families with a female head, while 20 percent reported that 90 percent or more of their units are occupied by families headed by females. (Few authorities maintain information on the characteristics of families on their waiting lists, therefore, it is impossible to develop an accurate estimate of the number of female-headed households on the waiting list for public housing.)

The survey showed that among the responding authorities, 35.50 percent of the household heads are employed if the New York City Housing Authority is included, while only 25.50 percent are employed if New York is not included. This means that almost three-quarters of public housing families are not supported by a working member. Only 4.0 percent of the authorities surveyed had 50 percent or more employed households, while slightly more than one-half reported that fewer than 50 percent of their households were headed by an employed person. The median average income of working families at the authorities surveyed was $7,908.00.

If the New York City Housing Authority is not included, 44 percent of all public housing families receive AFDC payments. If New York City is included, this figure drops to approximately 36. Looking only at

(Continued on page 8)

Telescope

Baltimore Names Circuit Courthouse for Clarence Mitchell, Jr.

On March 8, 1985, Baltimore honored the life and work of Clarence Mitchell, Jr., the noted civil rights leader and a lifelong resident of Baltimore, by naming its Circuit Court building after him. As director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP and chief lobbyist for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Mitchell helped lead the struggle for passage of the 1957, 1960, and 1964 Civil Rights Acts; the 1965 Voting Rights Act; the 1968 Fair Housing Act; and related measures. He died in March of last year.

Present during the dedication ceremony were U.S. Congressman Parren Mitchell, brother of Clarence Mitchell, Jr.; Supreme Court Justices Thurgood Marshall and William J. Brennan; NAACP Executive Director Benjamin L. Hooks; Baltimore Mayor Donald Schaefer; Maryland Governor Harry Hughes; and Senators Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. and Paul S. Sarbanes.

Faculty Fellowships in Health Care Finance

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation is seeking applicants for the 1986-87 academic year for its fellowship program, which helps develop university faculty to teach and conduct research in the field of health care finance. The fellowship program is administered by the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions.

The fellowships begin in September with an intensive four-month educational program covering the latest issues, problems, and innovations in health care finance. This is followed by an eight-month placement in a private or public health care financing organization, hospital, or alternative delivery system. Fellows are then eligible to receive up to $15,000 in support of a related research project.

The fellowships are open to faculty in university programs and departments with a strong health care finance and health policy focus, as well as to individuals in health-related disciplines—e.g., public health, health or hospital administration, public policy, public administration, law, business, political science, economics, or medicine—who would like to begin academic careers in health care finance. The deadline for applications is January 20, 1986. For more information and application materials, contact Carl J. Schramm, the program director, at (301) 955-8316.

Councilman Ira Jackson Elected Chief of Atlanta Regional Commission

Atlanta City Councilman Ira Jackson has been elected chairman of the Atlanta Regional Commission, a regional planning and intergovernmental coordination agency created by local governments in the Atlanta area. Jackson is now in his fourth term as a member of the city council and chairs the finance committee. He is third vice president of the Georgia Municipal Association and a member of the National League of Cities' Transportation Policy Committee. He is a past president of the National Association of Regional Councils, an organization composed of some 350 planning bodies from across the country.

Jackson is the second chairman in the history of the Atlanta Regional Commission. He had served as vice chairman under the previous chairman, Ernest Barrett, since 1977 and has been the city council's representative on the commission since the commission's inception in 1971. Most commission members represent suburban areas, and officials in the region hope that the new chairman will bridge the gap that has sometimes existed between the city of Atlanta and the surrounding area.

Blacks on the Bench

The South Carolina General Assembly has elected Circuit Court Judge Ernest Finney, Jr. to fill a seat on the state Supreme Court. Finney is the first black to sit on South Carolina's high court since Reconstruction.

Mississippi, too, now has its first black Supreme Court justice since Reconstruction. This past January, Governor Bill Allain appointed Circuit Court Judge Reuben V. Anderson to the state Supreme Court. Anderson will serve as an appointed justice until the next statewide election, in 1986, when he can run for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

New York Governor Mario Cuomo appointed Justice Fritz W. Alexander II of the Appellate Division of the state Supreme Court to the state Court of Appeals, New York's highest court, in January. Alexander is the first black named to a full term on the court.

The Senate confirmed the Reagan administration's nomination of Ann C. Williams to the post of federal judge in the Northern District of Illinois in April. Ms. Williams, head of the Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Force for the North Central Region until going on maternity leave last summer, is the first black woman named to the federal bench by the Reagan administration.

House Committee Allocates AID Funds to Minority Organizations

On April 2, the House Foreign Affairs Committee passed a provision, authored by William H. Gray III, requiring the Agency for International Development (AID) to direct at least 10 percent of its fiscal year 1986 funds to historically black colleges, businesses owned by minorities and women, and minority volunteer agencies. This will enable these groups to participate in the development and administration of AID's housing, education, agriculture, energy, and other development assistance programs overseas. The new provision is similar to an earlier one, also sponsored by Congressman Gray, that allocated 1985 funds to minority colleges and to firms and agencies owned by minorities and women.

Robert L. Hill Named as Vice President of AGA

Robert L. Hill has been named vice president of consumer and urban affairs for the American Gas Association. Hill served for over 10 years as the Director for Human Resources and Public Safety at the National League of Cities and has worked closely with many members of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials.

Myths of Poverty

(Continued from page 3)

The number of people in poverty is growing and the poor are getting poorer. Poverty is not limited by race, location, or gender. However, history shows that we *can* reduce the level of poverty in America. But only with a realistic picture of the problem will we be able to fairly evaluate the proposals now being debated.

Who Lives in Public Housing?

(Continued from page 6)

extra-large authorities (those managing over 5,000 units) but eliminating New York, one-half of all the families receive AFDC payments. Although a substantial portion of the residents at the authorities surveyed receive AFDC benefits, the survey data are not adequate to calculate the average level of dependence, the average length of time the residents have received assistance, the proportion of recipients who are employed, or the number of recipients who remain at home to care for children under six.

Current Tenant Population in Family Public Housing

	National	Northeast*	North Central	Northwest	South	Southwest
White	14.10	31.40	18.00	32.84	8.46	14.95
Black	64.40	57.12	71.60	25.96	89.50	1.35
Hispanic	17.74	8.20	1.00	24.00	1.35	37.20
Asian	2.16	2.50	6.43	11.51	.05	4.96
Other	1.79	.19	3.41	5.39	.64	10.00

Waiting List Population

	National	Northeast*	North Central	Northwest	South	Southwest
White	11.34	15.86	24.35	43.15	6.62	20.00
Black	77.37	70.13	67.65	34.20	88.83	28.37
Hispanic	6.47	11.57	1.35	2.56	4.09	15.77
Asian	2.43	2.68	5.54	16.40	.23	18.50
Other	1.80	.42	2.00	3.60	.20	16.93

* Does not include New York City Housing Authority.
Note: Due to rounding error, the columns may not add up to 100 percent.

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Shirley Chisholm's keynote speech to the National Political Congress of Black Women

Black Women in the Military

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Redividing the Political Pie

Black women convene in Atlanta to plan an agenda for political empowerment.

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Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

The American media—print and broadcast—are politically powerful. Gary Hart's spectacular rise in popularity and in the polls last year is just one example of how journalism can shape audience views. This immense power makes particularly troublesome the manner in which subtle racial and ethnic prejudices and preferences affect news coverage of politics.

In societies such as the United States, where racial and ethnic cleavages are strong and highly salient in political campaigns, it is especially important to question the effects of the media. Moreover, in a number of other countries, such cleavages are becoming more prominent and are likely to raise many of the same questions.

Jesse Jackson's 1984 presidential bid (to some extent like Gary Hart's) shows the unique capacity of the media both to give life and power to a campaign and to limit or define it in critical ways. Jackson was a made-for-TV personality, and TV was largely responsible for the dramatic gains he achieved in spite of his late entry into the race and lack of funds and technical support. His uncanny ability to use the media and the media's eagerness for dramatic, charismatic personalities in what was otherwise a dull campaign combined to produce for him a "media-driven" campaign.

But the media proved equally effective in freezing Jackson in the public mind as a *black* candidate—interesting, yes, and often surprising, but nevertheless, not a viable *American* candidate for the presidency. Journalists consistently labeled him and presented him as spokesman, advocate, and symbol for blacks. Thus, while the media showed America what a formidable personality Jackson is, the media also effectively limited the context in which people—particularly whites—understood and judged his candidacy. This, I think, contributed at least in a small way to racial polarization.

To be sure, several factors contributed to the peculiar "spin" on media coverage of Jackson. His candidacy emerged against a background of discussions among black leaders over the possibility of a black candidate, as such, running for nomination. The fact that Jackson had not previously held elective office caused journalists to treat him more as a "civil rights leader" than a politician. And the candidate did, of course, champion a number of issues of special concern to blacks and other minorities. But he also championed issues affecting a broader cross-section of the total population.

Race also became a prominent focus in media coverage of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's bid to become governor of California and in mayoral races in Chicago and Philadelphia involving black candidates who ultimately won. In all these cases, the media had to cover black candidates seeking positions not previously held or even seriously pursued by blacks. The media's role must be considered in these cases, not only in terms of their direct references to or treatment of the race of the candidates, but in a host of subtle decisions and judgments with significant implications for public attitudes toward black candidates. Campaign managers also face countless difficult decisions about how to deal with race and ethnicity in the development of campaign strategy.

Thus, the issue of race and ethnicity illuminates a broader set of concerns about the impact of the media in modern democracies. The media can be a powerful force in managing racial or other demographic conflicts and in fostering cross-racial voting. However, they also can be a destructive and divisive instrument in multi-racial societies such as ours. In the short run, solving this problem is a challenge to responsible candidates and journalists.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Black Women in the Military

by James R. Daugherty

(The author is a senior military fellow at the Joint Center.)

All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, runs the title of a recent book by Barbara Smith, mocking the implicit assumptions of most current debates about equal opportunity in American society. The participants in such debates usually concern themselves only with the circumstances of white women or black men, virtually ignoring the special plight of black women. In recent debates over the composition of the U.S. Armed Forces, for example, the Joint Center and others have focused attention on the overrepresentation of blacks in the military, and debate has flared over questions about women in the services ever since the initiation of the all-volunteer force (AVF) in 1973, but no one has focused on the extreme overrepresentation of *black women* in the military and what it means for society, for the services, or for the women themselves.

Focus on Black Women

The numbers are striking. Population figures for fiscal year 1984 reveal that 28.9 percent of all enlisted women were black and 42 percent of enlisted women in the army were black. While the number of enlisted personnel remained constant over the past decade (1.8 million), the number of enlisted women has nearly tripled (from 61,000 to 172,000), and the number of black enlisted women has increased almost five-fold (from 10,000 to 49,000).

A recent survey by the Department of Defense reveals that young black women are three times more likely than their white counterparts to join the services. Black women are more likely to complete their first tour of service and also to sign up for additional service. These rather startling statistics have received little attention. Why? As Army Sergeant Major James Dandy said at a recent JCPS meeting on the subject, "We simply do not have a problem attracting or keeping the number of qualified women we need, black or white. We do not study non-problems."

The sergeant major's remarks notwithstanding, the Joint Center recently brought together a diverse group of scholars, military officers, and policy analysts to consider the status of black women in the military. Participants included retired Army General Hazel Johnson-Brown, the first black female general; Navy Captain Frank Gamboa, the director of the Defense Department's Equal Opportunity Office; feminist scholar Cynthia Enloe, and Carolyn Becraft of the Women's Equity Action League.

Although the number of black women in the service may suggest there are no problems for the military, the figures do raise some general questions. Why do black women find military service such an attractive option? Is there a lack of opportunity for these women in the work force? Betty Woody, an economist at Wellesley College, has found black women overrepresented in narrow bands of civilian industry: they are 40 percent of the work force in nonprofit industries such as health and education and 30 percent in predominantly blue-collar industries such as hotel, building maintenance, and retail food sales. Faced with civilian occupations that offer little chance of advancement, many black women deem the military a more attractive option. Explicit performance criteria inform them of what is expected and they may sense that the racial and sexual prejudices that affect advancement in the civilian sector are less salient in the services.

Are black women advancing or learning skills that will be useful outside the military? Combat exclusion rules limit opportunities for women to serve in some jobs that are important for career development. And women are still clustered in the traditionally female occupations of medical and administrative support; black women even more so than white women are shunted to these fields. Little is known about female veterans' experiences in the work force but the Labor Department has taken some interest in this subject and has initiated two studies of the issue.

The following questions are still awaiting preliminary responses. Just how different are black women's experiences in the military from those of white women? What can the military learn from its relative success with black women? How can the lessons be used to increase the chances for success of black men, white women, and the AVF as a whole?

As is often the case in the early exploration of an issue, there are many more questions than answers. Yet there are also some facts to consider. A shrinking pool of recruits necessitates that we make some significant changes in the manpower policies of the armed forces, and these changes could have exaggerated effects on the recruitment of black males and black and white females (see January 1985 *Focus*). We should find answers to some of the many questions about black women in the military before making any such changes.

Black enlisted women as a percentage of all enlisted women, selected years

		1974	Percentage	1979	Percentage	1984	Percentage
Army	All women	26,320		54,815		66,664	
	Black women	5,455	20.7	18,916	34.5	28,019	42.0
Navy	All women	13,143		24,751		41,579	
	Black Women	1,261	9.6	3,190	12.9	7,862	18.9
Marines	All women	2,402		5,501		8,577	
	Black women	411	17.1	1,171	21.3	2,108	24.6
Air Force	All Women	19,463		45,954		55,339	
	Black Women	3,236	16.6	7,990	17.4	11,775	21.3
Total	**All women**	**61,328**		**131,021**		**172,159**	
	Black women	**10,363**	**16.9**	**31,266**	**23.9**	**49,764**	**28.9**

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center

New Challenges to Local Economic

by Robert E. Suggs

(Mr. Suggs, a corporate attorney, is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Over the past several years, two federal statutes—the Sherman Act and the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act of 1970 (RICO)—have been applied by courts to the policies and practices of local governments. Previously, those local policies had been considered exempt from statutes designed to control *private* economic activity. But both statutes are now being broadly interpreted by the courts, and since they allow plaintiffs to recover treble damages, they provide a great incentive for private litigants to sue local governments and extort favorable settlements even in the absence of wrongdoing.

These statutes, as applied to local governments, usually involve decisions affecting economic and business interests, so they are becoming an important limit on local governments' ability to guide, control, and influence economic activity within their jurisdictions. Curiously, these recent court rulings run counter to the philosophy of the Reagan administration, which advocates the shifting of governmental responsibility from the federal to the local level.

The RICO statute was originally intended to prevent organized crime from moving into legitimate businesses; its application to public entities is less well developed and more uncertain than such application of the Sherman Act. Since 1981, however, there has been an explosive increase in the number of RICO suits. We cannot predict future applications of the statute with certainty, but clearly, when it is applied to public entities, the financial consequences for local governments are likely to be serious.

The constraints both the Sherman and RICO statutes impose on local governments are especially cumbersome as federal budget cutbacks require local economies to rely more heavily on local resources and policies for revitalization and expansion. At a time when the need for local policy and regulatory initiatives is growing, local economic controls are increasingly likely to be ruled invalid and may also expose jurisdictions to budget-busting liabilities.

Applying the Sherman Act to Local Governments

The critical decision applying the Sherman Act to local governments was the 1982 *Boulder* decision by the Supreme Court. In *Boulder*, the Court held that only state governments could claim sovereign immunity from the reach of the Sherman Act, the century-old antitrust statute prohibiting agreements that "restrain trade." Governmental entities below the state level, from general purpose units such as counties to special purpose entities such as sewer districts, remain fully subject to the statute.

In the case against the city of Boulder, a cable television company, in response to technological advances, sought to expand its service area in the city, where it had previously operated without competition. The city responded by enacting a moratorium on such an expansion while it drafted a cable television ordinance and invited new firms to enter the business and submit competing bids. The already established company claimed the moratorium restrained trade in violation of the Sherman Act and sued the city. The city's defense was a claim of governmental immunity.

While the Supreme Court did *not* find that Boulder had violated the Sherman Act, it ruled that governmental immunity was a defense available only to state governments and sent the case back to the lower court. Lesser jurisdictions were immune only if they acted to implement a clearly articulated state policy to replace competition with regulation. Since local government actions are different from the business activities to which antitrust prohibitions were traditionally applied, this opinion created much confusion and uncertainty.

The Supreme Court has called the Sherman Act "the Magna Carta of free enterprise," and in the economic realm, it is treated almost as if it were a constitutional provision. Potentially, it can apply to any economic transaction or decision. Unlike regulatory statutes, it is not a lengthy, detailed piece of legislation accompained by volumes of administrative regulations. Rather, like a constitutional provision, it is short and general, and it has been left to the courts to flesh out its substance with interpretations. Consequently, its application evolves to meet new circumstances as society, technology, and the economy change.

The importance of the Sherman Act is further enhanced by the severe penalties it imposes. In criminal cases, fines may be as high as $1 million and imprisonment up to 3 years. In civil suits, plaintiffs can recover three times their actual damages plus attorneys' fees. After *Boulder*, lawsuits were filed against local governments challenging everything from municipal zoning decisions to procurement and licensing practices. Since public officials were found personally liable in some cases, these suits had an especially chilling effect. The most notorious lawsuit resulted in a jury verdict awarding $28.5 million to a developer against a town of 5,500 people and against its mayor personally. In all, more than 200 suits have been filed in federal courts as plaintiffs have sought to discover the limits of this new weapon against city regulation and business restrictions.

In 1984, Congress finally acted to stem the tide of litigation by enacting the Local Government Antitrust Act, which gives some protection to local governments but much less to public officials. This new law restricts the antitrust remedies available against local governments, but it does nothing to absolve them from liability. Its principal effect is to remove the major incentive for antitrust suits against local governments—treble-damage recoveries. However, plaintiffs can still seek injunctions to compel cities to remove certain business restrictions or regulations. Attorneys' fees can still be recovered when a plaintiff succeeds in obtaining such an injunction. But such suits will probably be brought only in the more egregious situations.

Public officials do remain exposed to personal liability for treble damages. The act grants immunity only to public officials acting in their "official capacity." Conflicts of interest, where officials receive some private benefit from the challenged action or ordinance, and actions or decisions that violate state law and thus arguably cannot be "official," present situations in which public officials will probably be deemed to be acting outside of their "official capacity." Zoning and procurement decisions, where conflicts of interest and violations of state law sometimes arise, are the types of actions that can produce grievances resulting in treble-damage claims.

Private persons and firms are even more exposed to treble-damage liability than public officials. Only if the decision or ordinance under which they act has been adopted by officials in their "official capacity," *and* if their own specific course of conduct has been taken at the direction of the local government or official acting in an "official capacity" and under the active supervision of the local government, can they claim exemption from the Sherman Act. These requirements, of course, are still open to considerable interpretation.

The standard for exemption from injunctive relief was refined earlier this year in *Town of Hallie*. In the *Hallie* case, a town sued an incorporated city, asserting that the city had acquired a monopoly over sewage treatment service and had violated the Sherman Act by refusing to extend sewer treatment service to unincorporated towns unless they agreed to be annexed and use the city's sewage collection and transportation services. The state statute authorized the city to refuse service to unincorporated areas.

The Supreme Court said that for the actions of a local government to be exempt from the Sherman Act, the government must demonstrate that its anticompetitive activities were authorized by the state under a clear policy of displacing competition with regulation or monopoly services. The statutory grant of authority must be specific enough that the challenged anticompetitive conduct is clearly a foreseeable result of the statute. A general grant of authority, such as one authorizing home rule, is not enough. Furthermore, the anticompetitive effects must logically result from the authority granted and not merely be allowed by it. In many instances, this standard is still far from clear, but in *Hallie* the Court found the state statute sufficient to satisfy the exemption requirement.

Nevertheless, the Sherman Act remains an important constraint on the powers of local government. Despite the push for federal deregulation and the increasing reliance by municipalities on their own resources and initiatives, any attempt by local governments to tinker with market forces is fraught with peril. Municipal governments risk only injunctions prohibiting their actions. But public officials enacting local regulations and private parties acting in reliance on them must still weigh the prospect of treble damages and personal liability.

State antitrust laws modeled after the Sherman Act also bear mentioning as a further antitrust constraint. Some of these laws expressly incorporate federal precedents. Courts may interpret these laws to require state legislative exemptions to confer state antitrust immunity on local governments. The nature of the law in any particular jurisdiction at any given moment is thus problematic, to say the least.

RICO

The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act likewise threatens local governments although it was originally aimed at private parties. Enacted in 1970 with the purpose of eradicating organized crime, the RICO statute, like the Sherman Act, provides a civil remedy of treble damages as an incentive to encourage private enforcement. Today, however, most defendants in civil RICO suits have no connection with what is generally considered to be "organized crime." And although it may seem incongruous that a local government, as opposed to individual public officials, could violate such a law, a number of courts have held that governments below the state level are not immune.

Most suits so far have applied RICO to public officials involved in illegal activity such as bribery, but the prospect of enormous financial rewards for plaintiffs with economic grievances against local governments will probably result in suits seeking to discover the outer limits of interpretation of this statute. A public official or public entity can violate RICO by conducting an "enterprise" through a "pattern of racketeering activity," and a private plaintiff may recover treble damages and attorneys' fees for an injury to its business or property. The requisite "pattern" may exist if the plaintiff can show that public officials violated certain federal and state criminal statutes twice in the previous 10 years.

As with the Sherman Act, a RICO suit seeking damages from a local government will probably involve a public official acting illegally or subject to a conflict of interest or other questionable behavior that may appear fraudulent. RICO liability for damages may never be imposed on local governments; it will be years before the risks are clarified by court decisions. Until then, the burden that RICO suits impose, with the provisions for treble damages and attorneys' fees, can be used to extort favorable settlements, and the prospect of such suits could tend to discourage bold or controversial local govenment policies.

The RICO and Sherman Acts can be used to attack a wide variety of government policies and practices. In response to complaints from local governments, Congress acted to curtail the adverse impact of the Sherman Act. Similar congressional action may be needed on RICO if local officials are to feel free to undertake the new policy and regulatory initiatives necessary to manage the economic activity in their jurisdictions.

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Redividing the Political Pie

by Julie E. Dade

(Ms. Dade is director of Programs for the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation.)

In an atmosphere that was part animated political convention and part spirited revival, more than 400 black women, representing 29 states, met recently in Atlanta to convene the first national assembly of the National Political Congress of Black Women. Founded just 10 months ago, the group, which is dedicated to the political empowerment of black women, has already recruited 2,000 members, established a national office, and helped fund the election of Alyce Griffen Clark—the first black woman to serve in the Mississippi Senate.

Why a Black Women's Group?

The foundation of this unique organization was laid during the 1984 presidential campaign. Black women played a major role in boosting black voter participation from 60 percent in 1980 to 66.3 percent in 1984—the largest increase ever among black voters, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Particularly impressive was the increase in black women's participation. Not only were 69.5 percent of black women registered in 1984 (compared to 62.2 percent in 1980), but the increase in turnout from 52.8 percent in 1980 to 59.2 percent was the largest percentage increase of any subgroup in the nation.

Despite these achievements, however, 1984 was also a year when black women were again overlooked. They were overlooked by presidential contender Walter Mondale, who failed even to consider a black woman for the historic vice-presidential sweepstakes; by Republicans at their Dallas convention, who relied on television coverage alone to portray their commitment to women, both black and white; and by journalists, who in examining the power of the vote, divided voters into the following subgroups: white men, white women, Hispanics, and blacks, failing to take into account the distinctness of black women—and, for that matter, Hispanic women. These events were among many that persuaded black women to organize themselves to seek their slice of the political pie.

With this goal in mind, organizers of the assembly structured it to provide participants with an opportunity to obtain needed political skills and information. Workshops offered presentations by politicians, political experts, and emerging leaders, who covered in broad strokes the how-to's of raising funds, running for office, dealing with the media, and seeking appointments. These workshops were augmented with others on specific issues led by specialists in the fields of educational reform, employment and training, and civil rights. These issue-oriented forums brought participants up-to-date on current and proposed legislation.

At the close of the assembly, the participants drafted and passed 68 resolutions, which they plan to put into action at the state and local levels of government. In fact, local members have already begun moving forward to turn ideals into action. Executive board member Shirley Wilcher of Maryland is encouraged by what she sees on the local level, and she notes that the "Maryland chapters are very politically savvy and direct. They are already looking at congressional seats. The National Congress galvanized black women who had been looking for ways to move into public office."

An Organization for All Black Women

The organization's commitment to include all black women is demonstrated by the makeup of its national board, which was elected by the membership. As one participant noted, "Who could have envisioned an organization led by such diverse women as C. Delores Tucker (vice chair), the head of the Democratic party's Black Caucus; Gloria Toote (second vice chair), a prominent black Republican; and board members Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and Angela Davis, activist and California State University professor." Certainly, the election of such a diverse leadership is evidence of a positive beginning.

And the women in attendance saw no chance of the National Congress becoming just another support group or one rendered ineffective by extreme partisan leanings. Said Phildelphia councilwoman Augusta Clarke, "I'm glad to be a part of a group that is avowedly, unabashedly, and unshamefully a political organization. We're in existence because we are for the political power of black women—Democrats, Republicans, and independents; our uniqueness is that this group is diverse and independent and we speak for all women." Board member Antoinette Ford, a Republican assistant adminstrator at the Agency for International Development, echoed the sentiments of a fellow Republican, Kansas City, Missouri, councilwoman Joanne Collins, who said "I took great pride in my participation with the many powerful black women of the National Political Congress of Black Women. I feel that under the leadership of Shirley Chisholm, C. Delores Tucker, and Gloria Toote, we will be a powerful force for positive change."

In the months ahead, the National Congress must focus on building an effective network across the country in order to groom candidates and raise the funds necessary to play a role in national politics. There are plans for intensive training sessions, the compilation of talent lists of black women political technicians, activists, and potential candidates. The ability to move money to attractive candidates is crucial. Reports by groups such as the Center for American Women in Politics at Rutgers University cite a marked increase in legislation on issues of particular concern to women (civil rights, education, and spousal rights, for example) now that more women are seeking and winning election to state offices.

Vice chair C. Delores Tucker has already identified a fundraising goal of $10 million by the year 2000 to help elect more black women to political office. Although some may see this as an overly optimistic goal, many of the members have raised thousands of dollars for other worthy causes.

Maintaining a focus on the goal of political empowerment is key to the long-term success of the National Political Congress of Black Women. Shirley Chisholm, unanimously elected chair of the National Congress, clearly stated the mandate for the organization when she said, "Black women must no longer allow themselves to be complacent recipients of whatever morals or politics the leaders of this nation decree for us."

Keeping Families Together

Keeping Families Together: The Case for Family Preservation, a study published recently by the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, advocates family preservation programs as a more humane alternative to foster placement. The study shows how preservation programs have proved successful in preventing unnecessary out-of-home placement by providing intensive, in-home family therapy and helping families obtain life's necessities such as food and housing. Instead of removing children from their families, the entire family's troubles are addressed directly. The study also examines some controversial fiscal and legal issues that surround preservation programs.

Who are the children in foster care? According to the study, "A high proportion of the children in foster care come from poor families, whose problematic family dynamics are compounded by the conditions of their poverty.... Minority children, overrepresented below the poverty line, are also overrepresented in foster care. So are children of single mothers."

Author Maya Angelou, in her introduction to the study, underscores the dilemma surrounding foster care versus family preservation programs. "Our organizations can take a child from a nonsupportive nuclear family, but to what end? Wouldn't we show our intelligence and concern more effectively if, rather than removing the child, we worked together with the entire family in order to create a healthy unit?"

Copies of *Keeping Families Together* can be obtained, free of charge, by sending a self-addressed mailing label to the Office of Communications, Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, 250 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

State Senator Wilder Runs for VA Lieutenant Governor

Virginia Democrats have nominated state Senator Lawrence Douglas Wilder for the office of lieutenant governor. He is the first black ever nominated by a major party for that office in the South. When Wilder was first elected to the Senate in 1969 from Virginia's ninth district, he became the first black person to serve in that body since Reconstruction. Wilder heads a number of Senate committees, including the Steering Committee, the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council, and the governor's Regulatory Reform Advisory Board. He has authored many innovative laws, such as the state's fair housing statute and its first law prohibiting the sale of drug paraphernalia. He was the moving force behind Virginia's institution of a holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Wilder is credited with opening up appointments to the executive and judicial branches of government to all Virginians.

NAPFE Endorses Subminimum Wage Bill for Youth

The National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees has endorsed the Youth Employment Opportunity Wage Act of 1985, which will create thousands of summer jobs for youth aged 19 and under at a pay rate of $2.50 per hour. In sharp contrast, other labor unions have opposed a subminimum wage for youth during the summer months.

NAPFE President Robert L. White explained the union's decision: "First, youth unemployment is a major problem. The excessively high rate of unemployment among black teens is a national disgrace. No program to date has stemmed the tide of runaway youth unemployment. Clearly, our youth need job opportunities. And YEOW promises to create 400,000 summer jobs for youth.... Many youth lack adequate skills to earn the minimum wage. The YEOW program will give youth a foot in the door. The YEOW wage rate is a floor, not a ceiling. A youth's first job leads to another job. We cannot afford to trap our youth in a lifetime of joblessness."

Marcus Alexis and Eleanor Holmes Norton to Head JCPS Task Forces on Economic and Social Issues

Marcus Alexis, professor of economics at Northwestern University, has been selected chairperson of the Joint Center's Economic Policy Task Force. The Economic Policy Task Force was established recently to help the center shape its research agenda on economic policy issues of special concern to blacks and other minorities. Other members of the task force and their affiliations are James H. Carr, U.S. Senate Budget Committee; Wendell Wilkie Gunn, Arthur D. Laffer & Associates; Donald Harris, Stanford University; John Jeffries, New York University; C. Robert Kemp, Opportunity Funding Corporation; Glenn C. Loury, Harvard University; Margaret Simms, the Urban Institute; Warren Whatley, University of Michigan; and Rhonda Williams, University of Texas at Austin.

Eleanor Holmes Norton, professor at the Georgetown University Law School, has been selected chairperson of the Joint Center's Social Policy Task Force, which was formed to help the center shape its social policy research agenda. The other members of this task force are Bernard Gifford, University of California at Berkeley; Joyce Ladner, Howard University; Georgia McMurray, Community Service Society; Richard P. Nathan, Princeton University; John Oglou, University of California at Berkeley; Gary Orfield, University of Chicago; Roger Wilkins, Institute for Policy Studies; Franklin Wilson, University of Wisconsin; and William Wilson, University of Chicago.

Both task forces will meet at least annually to consider the results of policy research undertaken by or under the auspices of the Joint Center, advise on specific studies that should be undertaken by the center, and develop statements on major policy questions.

Bernard Rapoport Joins JCPS Board of Governors

Bernard Rapoport, chairman of the American Income Life Insurance Company, has joined the Joint Center's board of governors. Previously, Rapoport served as chairman of the United Negro College Fund and of United Way of Waco, Texas. He is currently a member of several boards, including those of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America; the Hebrew Union College; The Jerusalem Foundation, Inc.; the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; and the Mexican American Legal Defense Educational Fund.

The Seeds of Freedom

by Shirley Chisholm

(Ms. Chisholm, a former U.S. congresswoman, chairs the National Political Congress of Black Women. What follows is an abbreviated version of the keynote speech Ms. Chisholm delivered at the group's first annual conference in early June, described on p. 6.)

Black women in the latter part of this century have come to the realization that our time has come. I remember about 22 or 23 years ago, i mentioned to some of my black sisters that it would be very, very necessary for us to bring ourselves together and for us to speak out forcefully and assertively on matters that concern the black family, specifically, our children. And I remember so vividly how many of our sisters said at the time, "Shirley, we cannot move in that direction. We cannot move in that direction because certain elements in the society would begin to question our motivation."

How interesting it is to note that whenever white women begin to organize themselves, whenever white men begin to organize themselves and black men begin to organize themselves, there is not that kind of concern, and that kind of question as to the motivation. But when black women begin to organize themselves, everybody sits up and takes notice and wants to know, "What are you all up to?" I sincerely believe that the reason so many persons become deeply concerned about the potential emergence of the black woman in this country is because they know that we are resilient, we are strong, we have the stamina, the audacity, the courage, the perseverance, the determination, and that if indeed the sisters ever get to the point where we can have faith in God and confidence in self, we can change this country.

The seeds of freedom are tough. They may lie dormant for a long time, but then one day they begin to sprout. Today, the black woman deserves nothing less than full equality, which is supposedly the birthright of every American, white or black. As Dr. King has aptly said, we are through with tokenism and gradualism and "see how far you have comism." We can't wait any longer. Now is the time. Each day brings a new mountain to climb, a new disaster to solve, and a new fear to accept and conquer. When the day comes that there is nothing to battle, my sisters, that day is the day you lay yourselves down and just die.

For as long as we live, we fight; we fight for a living, for a new way of life, for a spiritual blessing, and for hope and strength. We fight for better health so we can continue to fight harder. And the first battle, my sisters, is won when we fight for belief in ourselves and find that it has come to us while we are still battling. If you have never known the power of believing, you have never really lived. The moment you are standing on the hilltop, lord of all you survey, and no one—neither your worst enemy nor your best friend—can destroy your spirit, you are then exalted to gain strength for the future in that brief encounter with greatness. We must all work toward that end so that we may make our belief permanent.

Whatever else the black woman is, she is an American. Whatever she is to become—integrated, unintegrated, or disintegrated—she will become it in America. It is true we are concerned about our present plight but we measure America rather by her potential than by her achievement.

Dr. Kenneth Clark has said, "There is no point in talk." I would put that another way. I would have said there is no point in jawboning—regardless of how poetic it may be—about whether the black man wants to integrate with America, because we are involved so inextricably with America that sensible black men and women accept it as a mandate. And we, as sensible black women, accept it as a mandate to work for a change that is written in the way of things.

At this historic moment in our lives, the great precedents of the founding of the National Association of Colored Women in 1896 and the National Council of Black Women in 1935 are certainly in our minds; let us now continue the unfinished agenda of the black woman.

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FOCUS

South Africa: On the Road to Revolution?

The Voting Rights Act of 1965: Twenty Years Later

A distinguished civil rights lawyer cites political gains for blacks but stresses need for continued vigilance.

"We Can Work Together"

Senate majority leader Dole asks blacks to give G.O.P. a closer look.

ISSN 0740-0195 Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

by Eddie N. Williams, President, Joint Center

Deciding which political party to join or which candidate to support is a highly personal matter. Decisions are often influenced by tradition, emotions, and ideology, not to mention enlightened self-interest. Facts and figures, standing alone, can seldom provide a clear road map to a decision.

Given this complex array of factors influencing partisanship, one would expect to see substantial segments of the electorate, as well as various subgroups, shift support from time to time between parties and between competing candidates. Generally, this has been done, although demonstrably more Democrats than Republicans are always elected to office. One conspicuous exception has been the behavior of the black electorate, which has voted consistently and overwhelmingly for Democratic candidates, at least during the past two decades.

This trend among blacks has been the subject of much debate. Does it weaken political influence by leading Republicans to ignore blacks and Democrats to take them for granted? Should blacks divide their support more evenly between Democrats and Republicans and, if so, by what magic formula? Should blacks vote their conscience, regardless of the prospects for electoral success, or should they be opportunists, always seeking to be on the winning side? And, finally, which should come first, black support for a political party or a party's support for black interests?

This subject is enormously complicated, and so far no one has found the right prescription for changing black voting patterns. Looming on the horizon, however, are several developments that could begin to shape the way blacks and Republicans view each other. The most obvious one, of course, is the growing dissension in Democratic ranks over whether the party should become more conservative in pursuit of southern white votes or stand pat on its traditional platform with a strong civil rights plank. Blacks, who provide 20 percent of all Democratic votes in presidential elections, are not likely to stand idly by while the party yanks their favorite platform planks out from under them. The big question, though, is whether the Republican Party will be seen as an attractive alternative.

Two other developments suggest that the foundation is being laid for some serious dialogue between blacks and the GOP. One is the apparent increase in Republican support, at least in Congress and at the state and local levels, on some issues of special concern to blacks, accompanied by the conspicuous overtures some Republicans are now making for black support. The other is an increase in the number of Republican role models in the black community.

One reason that blacks generally have not supported Republican candidates is the widespread perception among blacks that Republicans do not share an appreciable number of their dearest concerns. Republicans are trying to change this perception. The Republican National Committee has been quietly recruiting black voters and candidates. Two Republican senators, Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania and Charles Mathias of Maryland, provided the crucial votes to kill President Reagan's nomination of Brad Reynolds to be deputy attorney general. And the Republican-controlled Senate voted overwhelmingly for sanctions against South Africa.

Several other Republican overtures have been conspicuous for their boldness. Senate majority leader Robert Dole's recent appeal for black support, for example, stands in stark contrast to President Reagan's five-year-long spree of black leader-bashing. In a speech reprinted in this issue of *Focus*, Senator Dole said, "I believe that over the next several years [Republicans] can move more quickly toward majority status if inroads are made into the black vote. If we do, that would mean long-term political clout for black Americans."

Last month, some encouraging words also came from Secretary of Labor William Brock, when he embraced affirmative action far more strongly than has any other top Reagan appointee. Brock also encouraged stronger ties between his party and blacks during his tenure (1977-1981) as chairman of the Republican National Committee.

(Continued on page 8)

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"We Can Work Together"

by Robert Dole

(The author is majority leader of the U.S. Senate. He delivered these remarks in a speech to the National Urban League on July 22, 1985, in Washington, D.C.)

It is a pleasure to address the National Urban League. Several weeks ago I asked Vernon Jordan if he would help assemble a small group of black leaders to meet with me and other Republican senators. He did—so on last Wednesday we met with Vernon, John Jacob, Ben Hooks, Eddie Williams, Julius Chambers, and Joe Lowery. For about two hours we talked about a number of things—politics, Republicans, Democrats, national and international issues. Most importantly, we talked about how we can work together.

A New Relationship

Because of that meeting, I have a new hope. It is a hope that we can develop a true understanding of one another after a long period of confused perceptions. It is a hope that will mature into understanding where we can set aside those things that divide us and join together in areas that unite us.

I've been told by your leaders that the one big obstacle to a new relationship is the perception by many that the Republican party has turned its back on the principles for which its patron saint, Lincoln, fought. I've been told by Republicans that the one massive obstacle for a better relationship is the widespread perception and some reality that black America has forever turned its back on our party.

I can do little to dispel this perception without help from black Americans and their leadership, and only you can say whether your hearts and minds are truly open. But perhaps I can do a little something to change your perceptions, by demonstrating that the light of conscience has not gone out in my party. If you believe we are a monolithic group, insensitive to the needs of the disadvantaged and poor, in my view you are wrong.

When I was a county attorney of Russell, Kansas, one of my responsibilities was monthly approval of welfare claims and checks. Two of the welfare checks were made out to my grandparents. Partly because of this, I'm more than a little sensitized to people who struggle all their lives but cannot make ends meet.

That's why I try to understand issues like food stamps, and voting rights, and issues affecting the poor, the handicapped and other vulnerable groups. That's why I believe that budget deficits cannot be reduced simply by slashing programs affecting low-income Americans. This does not mean, however, that any program should be exempt from fiscal scrutiny.

A Compassionate Party

If you believe Republicans live only in white suburbs and spurn integration, then tell me why [Senator Charles] Mac Mathias [of Maryland] has devoted so many years to putting real teeth into the 1968 Fair Housing Act. Why is he working with Sam Pierce [Secretary of Housing and Urban Development] right now to come up with a bill that can be enacted into law this Congress? *He cares.*

If you believe Republicans dislike affirmative action, then why has Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania been one of the few in either party to speak out forcefully on this troublesome issue? *He cares.*

If you believe Republicans are selective in their support for civil rights, why has Senator Mack Mattingly of Georgia been with you on every major civil rights issue? Why does he work closely with the Martin Luther King Center? *He cares.*

If you believe Republicans are callous and insensitive toward the needs of children in poverty, why has Senator Paula Hawkins of Florida led the charge for federal programs to protect such children from crime, drugs, disease, and malnutrition?

If you believe Republicans ignore the problems of our inner cities, why does Senator Alfonse D'Amato of New York put urban crime, mass transit, and illegal drug peddling at the top of his legislative agenda?

If you believe Republicans aren't concerned about black teenage joblessness, why has Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana made it a top priority of his employment subcommittee? *They all care.*

Republicans understand that there are those who must look to the federal government for help in opening the door of opportunity. But we also believe that compassionate governments don't impose double-digit inflation on the poor and give them welfare checks instead of jobs in a healthy private sector. We believe that a rising tide lifts all boats, but we also understand, as Vernon Jordan once said, that some boats are still in the "drydocks of America's economy" and will remain stranded without the government's help.

Republicans don't often quote Franklin D. Roosevelt, but FDR said something in his second inaugural address that sums up what I think the vast majority of Americans believe. "The test of our progress," he said, "is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

Ending the Standoff

I cannot guarantee that every Republican subscribes to this view, any more than you can be confident that all Democrats do. But let me add this. If you don't like what you see in the Republican Party (and not many groups are perfect), the best way to bring about change is to join the internal debates.

The political reality is that the Republican Party is moving toward majority status, even as the Democrats maintain a strangle-hold on the black vote. So now some experts say, "Why bother? The Republican Party doesn't need the black vote anyway, and besides, they're tied permanently to the Democratic Party." Now I don't subscribe to this theory, as I believe that over the next several years we can move

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The Voting Rights Act: Twenty Years Later

by Frank R. Parker

(The author was recently selected as the Joint Center's first Distinguished Scholar. In 1965, when the Voting Rights Act was passed, he was a summer law clerk in the Justice Department. Since 1968, he has written on voting rights issues and has litigated a number of voting rights cases.)

On August 6, 1965—20 years ago this month—President Lyndon B. Johnson traveled up Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol to sign into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Speaking in the same room in which President Lincoln signed the bill freeing those slaves who had been impressed into the Confederate armed forces, President Johnson said, "This act flows from a clear and simple wrong. Millions of Americans are denied the right to vote because of their color. This law will ensure them the right to vote."

Calling the act "a victory for Negro leadership," the president pointed out that it also constituted "a great challenge to that leadership" to register the unregistered. And to those who were bemoaning the act as a "crumbling" of "the old ways," he offered, "It is right that it should come and when it has, you will find a burden that has been lifted from your shoulders, too. . . . Men cannot live with a lie and not be stained by it."

In *Black Ballots,* Steven F. Lawson showed that the passage of the Voting Rights Act was the culmination of a 21-year struggle begun in 1944 when the Supreme Court held the "white primary" to be unconstitutional (*Smith* v. *Allwright*). More immediately, the act was one of the greatest successes of the civil rights movement of the early 1960s. After civil rights workers were murdered for trying to organize voter registration drives in the South and Alabama state troopers in Selma drove demonstrators back with whips and billy clubs, President Johnson instructed his attorney general, Nicholas Katzenbach, "to write the goddamndest toughest voting rights act that you can devise."

Unprecedented in Scope

Previous voting rights laws (those enacted in 1957 and 1960) had turned out to be ineffective. Although a number of cases had been filed under them, the increase in black voter registration was very slight. Remedies were needed that did not depend upon case-by-case implementation by southern judges.

The act that a bipartisan coalition in Congress finally produced was unprecedented in scope. Section 4 automatically outlaws the use of literacy tests and other discriminatory voter registration qualifications in any covered state or locality (a jurisdiction where voter registration or turnout has been below 50 percent of all eligible adults). Section 5 automatically suspends the enforcement of any new voting laws or procedures in a covered state and locality until that state or locality has satisfied either the U.S. Attorney General or the U.S. district court in Washington, D.C., that the new law is not discriminatory in purpose or effect. Section 6 authorizes the attorney general to dispatch federal examiners (registrars) to covered areas to register qualified citizens to vote; and Section 8 allows the attorney general to send in federal observers (poll watchers) to monitor elections to ensure that registered voters are able to vote.

A New Era of Black Political Participation

The Voting Rights Act ushered in a new era of black political activism in the country at large and in the South in particular. Before the act was passed, only 41 percent of all eligible blacks in the South were registered to vote (in contrast to 65 percent of eligible whites). And in Mississippi, where the full panoply of discriminatory techniques as well as intimidation and violence had been used, the black voter registration rate was 6.7 percent of the black voting-age population—the lowest rate in the nation. But after passage, the rate of black registration in the South jumped 21 percent—an increase of better than 50 percent in the number of southern blacks registered.

Today, the Census Bureau's 1984 statistics show that 65.6 percent of blacks eligible to vote in the South are registered, equaling 6.5 million registered voters.

The new era of black political participation has also seen a striking increase nationwide in the number of blacks elected to public office. In 1964, the year before passage of the Voting Rights Act, probably no more than 300 blacks held elective office in the United States. As of January 1985, the Joint Center tallied 6,056 black elected officials (see *Focus,* May 1985)—63 percent of whom are in the South.

Three Extensions

The original authors of the Voting Rights Act were convinced that racism in the electoral process could be removed by temporary remedies. Thus, provisions such as the banning of voter registration tests (Section 4) and the requiring of advance approval for changes in voting laws (Section 5) were to be in effect for only five years. But in 1969, after an 18-month study of how the 1965 Act was being implemented, the staff director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights reported to Congress:

> The history of white domination in the South has been one of adaptiveness, and the passage of the Voting Rights Act, and the increased black registration that followed, have resulted in new methods to maintain white control of the political process.
>
> For example, state legislature and political party committees in Alabama and Mississippi have adopted rules since the passage of the Act which have had the purpose or effect of diluting the votes of newly enfranchised Negro voters. These measures have taken the form of switching to at-large elections where Negro voting strength is concentrated in particular election districts, facilitating the consolidation

> of predominantly Negro and predominantly white counties, and redrawing the lines of districts to divide concentrations of Negro voting strength.

Consequently, the act's "temporary" provisions were extended and amended by Congress three times—in 1970, 1975, and 1982. The "temporary" ban on discriminatory voter registration tests and devices was made permanent. And, although the special provisions of the act originally covered only 7 states (Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia), 26 counties in North Carolina, and 1 county in Arizona, today they cover 9 states (Texas and Arizona were added) and parts of 13 others (including large portions of California and the boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx in New York City).

The special protections of the act have also been amended to include language-minority groups (such as Spanish-speaking citizens and Native Americans). The language-minority provisions require that voter registration and election officials in designated areas provide bilingual voter registration and voting assistance to persons not fluent in English.

Unfinished Business

Despite the dramatic successes of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, what Jesse Jackson has called "the unfinished business of the Voting Rights Act" still remains. Black citizens have not yet achieved parity with whites in political participation. Blacks constitute 10.5 percent of the total voting-age population nationwide but hold only 1.2 percent of the elective offices, and that 1.2 percent tends to be concentrated in districts where the electoral majority is black.

Recent court decisions across the country, including the recent North Carolina legislative reapportionment decision and the Louisiana congressional redistricting case, show that in many areas black citizens continue to be denied an equal opportunity to participate in the electoral process. Measures used to limit the political effectiveness of blacks include discriminatory at-large voting, racial gerrymandering of district lines, and such barriers to voter registration as dual registration requirements and prohibitions on satellite registration.

Discriminatory measures adopted after November 1964 can be caught by the federal preclearance requirement of Section 5 of the act—unless they are implemented in states not covered by Section 5 or were adopted before Section 5 went into effect. And even within the covered states, if the attorney general fails to object to a discriminatory change in voting requirements, no appeal is possible and litigation is necessary.

Voting rights litigation suffered a severe setback in 1980 when the Supreme Court, in *City of Mobile* v. *Bolden,* construed Section 2 of the act (which prohibits racial discrimination in voting throughout the country) as requiring proof of discriminatory intent. Two years later, however, over the opposition of the Reagan administration, Congress amended Section 2, replacing the need to prove discriminatory intent with a more liberal "results" test.

But the Supreme Court has not yet issued a definitive interpretation of this new Section 2 "results" test. Some decisions in lower federal courts have unduly restricted the use of this results-based standard (see *Focus,* June 1985), and the Justice Department has recently filed briefs in the Supreme Court urging a very limited interpretation of the new Section 2.

For minority citizens, then, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 opened doors to electoral participation that had been shut for more than three-quarters of a century, but 20 years after passage of the act, efforts are still under way to limit the political participation of minority citizens. Thus, simply gaining the ballot is not enough. Only continued vigilance and vigorous enforcement can ensure minority voters the right to effective participation in our democratic process.

". . . Work Together"

(Continued from page 3)

more quickly toward majority status if inroads are made into the black vote. If we do, that would mean long-term political clout for black Americans and a strong effective voice in their government.

I can assure you that very few Republicans take pride in the lack of party support among black voters. We do want to reach out, to be responsive—but it must be a two-way street. If you give us an opportunity, we will demonstrate, as we are doing now, that being a Republican can bring positive results for the future. And finally, as Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole—a person I deeply respect—said two years ago in addressing this convention,

> If we have differences of opinion—and no two humans are ever completely immune to such expressions of their own individuality—then let us at least acknowledge the harmony of our basic objectives. And then let us go on from there, to narrow the differences and expand the common ground on which we march toward better days. □

The National Urban League is holding its 29th Annual Equal Opportunity Day Dinner on November 21, 1985, at the New York Hilton Hotel. The League annually presents its Equal Opportunity Award to leading citizens. For more information contact the League at 500 East 62nd St., New York, NY 10021; telephone (212) 310-9000.

S. Africa: On the Road to Revolution?

by Bernard Johns

(Mr. Johns is a senior fellow at the Joint Center, on detail from the U.S. Department of State under its Pearson Fellowship Program.)

Do the acute political tension and the violence associated with it in South Africa today signal the imminence of revolutionary change? Or are they merely "normal" characteristics of rule under a totalitarian regime, where violence periodically flares up but brings little change to those who are oppressed?

Many Western observers of South African politics believe that a violent revolution against the regime is unlikely. In their eyes, black South Africans have neither the determination nor the capability necessary for conducting such a revolution. Indeed, despite popular revolts in Iran, Lebanon, and Afghanistan, the current assumption is that a politically passive, illiterate, and impoverished people is unlikely to be successful in translating personal grievances into organized political demands and is easily co-opted or coerced into submission by an efficient authoritarian regime. Extending that assumption to South Africa, those same Western observers anticipate a prolonged period of political stability, despite the current unrest, during which the apartheid regime will undertake fundamental reforms that will eventually give full political equality to black South Africans.

The pattern of black-white relations in South Africa in this century, however, makes such reasoning seem suspect. In 1906, blacks had sufficient access to modern weaponry to match and momentarily defeat white military power during the Zulu anti-poll-tax revolt. Between 1906 and 1949, when South Africa's gun control laws became the strictest in the world, blacks channeled their protests against the country's *de facto* segregation into moral appeals to the ruling whites' Christian conscience and legal appeals to the governmental institutions capable of redressing their grievances. During that 43-year period, blacks accepted the legitimacy of the white ruling authority; and the political parties of protest that emerged—the Natal Indian Congress, the Independent and Commercial Workers' Union, the Communist Party, the Youth League of the African National Congress—all worked for constructive change from within the system.

Nonviolent Protest

But after 1948, the failure of efforts to remove racial segregation—indeed, the ruling Afrikaners' systematic institutionalization of apartheid—radicalized the majority of black leaders. Instead of continuing to express their protests by legal means, they turned to illegal (but still nonviolent) means.

The willingness of blacks in large numbers to oppose apartheid by illegal means was perhaps the most significant warning until then that a revolutionary process had begun. The political stability of any regime depends, among other things, on the regime's being accepted by the populace as legal—and after 1948, black South Africans began to challenge the legality of white rule in their country and openly defied the government's authority. Many Western observers, however, appear to have ignored the passing of that threshold. To them, black defiance of the regime was, and has continued to be, nothing more than the political unrest normally associated with authoritarian regimes everywhere—in their eyes, little different from ordinary hooliganism.

Armed Struggle

In 1960, the police fired into a crowd of demonstrators at Sharpeville, killing 67 and wounding 186. A 16-month state of emergency followed, during which 700 blacks were killed and 5,000 were wounded, according to South African authorities. That incident, although relatively prolonged, struck many Western observers as isolated, and to them the end of the state of emergency meant the return of "normality." Actually, however, after Sharpeville, black resistance changed: it became organized and armed. A guerrilla underground was trained abroad; terrorists organized and became active, expressing in their fanaticism and violence a sense of black nationalism that transcended ethnic identities and ethnic fragmentation. Even some whites—student members of the Youth Wing of the South African Liberal Party—briefly engaged in sabotage in the early 1960s.

Between 1964 and 1976 the regime effectively suppressed organized armed resistance, allowing many Western observers to continue believing that political turmoil in South Africa was a routine matter and not yet a threat to South Africa's security. But in fact, during those years black leadership capabilities and popular opposition to apartheid were growing.

So in 1976, when the police shot student demonstrators in Soweto, a period of violence began that has not yet ended. Not only do large numbers of youths demonstrate disregard for and defiance of police authorities, but hundreds of them have fled to foreign countries in search of guerrilla training.

To date, neither the guerrilla nor the political activity of blacks has achieved very much progress toward toppling the apartheid regime. Western observers attribute those failures to lack of a broad-based black revolutionary consciousness, to tribal and ethnic factionalism, and (so far as the guerrillas are concerned) to lack of a ruthless revolutionary mentality and inadequate training in guerrilla warfare and underground leadership.

These shortcomings, however, should be viewed as temporary, since increasing numbers of black South Africans now receive training in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and North Korea; and acts of urban terrorism originating in countries neighboring on South Africa are increasing (as are the South African government's military counter-raids into those countries). One should not, therefore, automatically assume the dominance of white military forces during the long term. For, as the United States learned in Vietnam, quantitative strength does not neatly translate into qualitative strength, and numbers of casualties or body counts cannot be equated with a combatant's will to fight and his ability to sustain losses for a considerable period of time to obtain a political goal.

(Continued on page 8)

Telescope

JCPS Appoints New Senior Military Fellow

Colonel William S. King, U.S. Air Force, has been appointed a senior military fellow at the Joint Center. He will be in residence at the center for one year conducting research on military manpower and personnel issues and participating in other Joint Center activities.

Colonel King has been in the Air Force for 29 years. His most recent position was chief of personnel at Bolling Air Force Base. He received his master's degree in education from St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, and his doctorate, also in education, from George Washington University in Washington, D.C.

King is succeeding Colonel James R. Daugherty of the U.S. Army, who completed his fellowship with the Joint Center earlier this summer.

JCPS Gets New Director of Communications

J. Terry Edmonds joined the Joint Center's staff as director of the Office of Communications (formerly the Office of Publications) in July. Edmonds will direct the public affairs and publishing programs of the center. Previously, he was director of public relations at Trahan, Burden & Charles, Inc., an advertising and public relations agency in Baltimore. He has also worked on the communications staffs of the Maryland Mass Transit Administration, Carling National Breweries, the Maryland Academy of Sciences, and United Way of Central Maryland.

1985 Roster of BEOs Now Available

The Joint Center's *Black Elected Officials, A National Roster, 1985* is now available from UNIPUB.

This important reference book costs $29.50 and can be ordered from UNIPUB by calling toll-free **800 521-8110** (in Michigan, call 313 761-4700). Specify order number **5064-JCP-202.** Or write UNIPUB, P.O. Box 1222, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

ATTENTION: BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS
SPECIAL OFFER

Black officials listed in the *Roster* will receive a 20 percent discount—$6.00 off the full price—if they order by September 30, 1985. Call or write, using the phone number or address shown above, but *be sure to use special order number* **506S-JCP-202.**

Black Unemployment Rate Drops 1.6 Percent

The unemployment rate for blacks decreased from 15.6 percent in May to 14.0 percent in June, an unusually large decline. The rate fell 1.4 percentage points each for black men and black women. The rate for black youth declined slightly, from 40.4 percent in May to 38.1 percent in June. And the number of discouraged workers—those who want to work but are not looking for jobs because they feel they cannot find them—edged down to 1.1 million, the lowest level in four years.

Janet L. Norwood, commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, cautioned, however, that "the jobless rate for blacks tends to be quite volatile, and we cannot determine if this decline represents a real improvement with only a single month of data."

Unemployment Rates, May and June 1985

	May	June
All blacks	15.6%	14.0%
Black men	13.6	12.2
Black women	13.7	12.3
Black youth	40.4	38.1
All workers	7.2	7.2

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Conference on Black Children

The National Black Child Development Institute, a nonprofit organization concerned with the welfare of black children, is holding its fifteenth annual conference October 16-18, 1985, in Washington, D.C. Leaders in the field of child development will conduct seminars and workshops around the conference theme—"Vision for Black Children: A Commitment for Change." From 500 to 800 people are expected to participate in more than 40 sessions to be held on child care, education, health, and research.

For more information contact Vicki Pinkston, conference coordinator, National Black Child Development Institute, 1463 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; telephone (202) 387-1281.

Cover photo, bottom right, courtesy of The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Inc.

Perspective

(Continued from page 2)

Looking down the road, it is of some significance that all four of the anticipated Republican presidential contenders (Dole, Howard Baker, Representative Jack Kemp, and Vice President George Bush) have far more credibility and generate far more empathy in the black community than does President Reagan. Such rapport may come in handy as Republicans seek to retain control of the Senate in 1986 and of the White House in 1988.

The near-absence of Republican role models in the black community until recently has been another major impediment for the party. Although few influential black political leaders are Republicans, this picture is beginning to change. Evidence may be seen in the conversions of a number of state and local black leaders to the GOP and in the appointment of blacks to highly visible positions.

The conversion of Wayne County (Michigan) Executive William Lucas to the Republican Party got national media coverage and a White House celebration. Other conversions have yet to make national headlines but are nonetheless significant. In May, for example, 23 black Democrats switched their registration in Fort Worth, Texas. Among them were the president of the Minority Leaders and Citizens Council and a former state legislator who had once served on the school board. In North Carolina, a black businessman who serves on the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission also switched to the GOP. Recently, the first black ever elected to anything in Somerset County, Maryland, won a seat on the Republican State Central Committee with strong white support. A black attorney is the deputy governor of Illinois and thus a senior counselor to Republican Governor James Thompson. And on Capitol Hill, the Republican-controlled Senate has appointed Trudi Morris to be the first black deputy sergeant at arms.

These may all be isolated developments prompted in large measure by political expediency. But the fact remains that similar political conversions and appointments are cropping up in various parts of the country. If they continue, the Republicans will soon have a sizable cadre of indigenous leaders in the black community, and blacks may well find themselves playing a greater role in the two-party system. □

South Africa . . .

(Continued from page 6)

Evolving Protest

The evolution of black protest in South Africa, then, shows us peaceful protest within the law, followed (after the institutionalization of apartheid in 1948) by nonviolent protest but now outside the law, followed (after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960) by armed struggle—in other words, protest no longer either legal or peaceful. Popular dissatisfaction, manifested in a spiraling pattern of strikes, marches, violent clashes with police, and the recently declared "state of emergency," makes it evident that the regime is in fundamental trouble: its legal right to rule is in dispute. And as the regime continues to lose legitimacy in the eyes of more and more blacks, the point of no return draws closer and closer—the point at which government concessions become irrelevant because the institutional mechanisms for redressing grievances have been rejected. (The recent series of attacks by blacks on black, coloured, and Indian so-called collaborators is but one reflection of many blacks' refusal to grant the white government the right to obedience.)

The idea of protracted guerrilla resistance against a regime that relies on conventional military forces brings to mind, again, the American experience in Vietnam. Even with the South African military forces increasing their emphasis on counterinsurgency training, the enemy they would confront would be the unnoticed waiter, busboy, mechanic, housekeeper, factory worker, or miner in whose hands a simple match in a city could become a more formidable weapon than a tank on a battlefield. If the future battlefield of the South African racial conflict were the country's cities, factories, farms, and mines, the economy would be at serious risk. It is true that military strength buttresses political power, but sustained political power is dependent upon a viable economy and social equilibrium. If the present situation were to evolve in such a way that the regime had to devote its full resources to suppressing black South Africans, then the economy would probably be devastated. One wonders whether, before then, the South African regime could bring itself to undertake substantive political reforms—and whether, if undertaken, such reforms would come soon enough to make any difference.□

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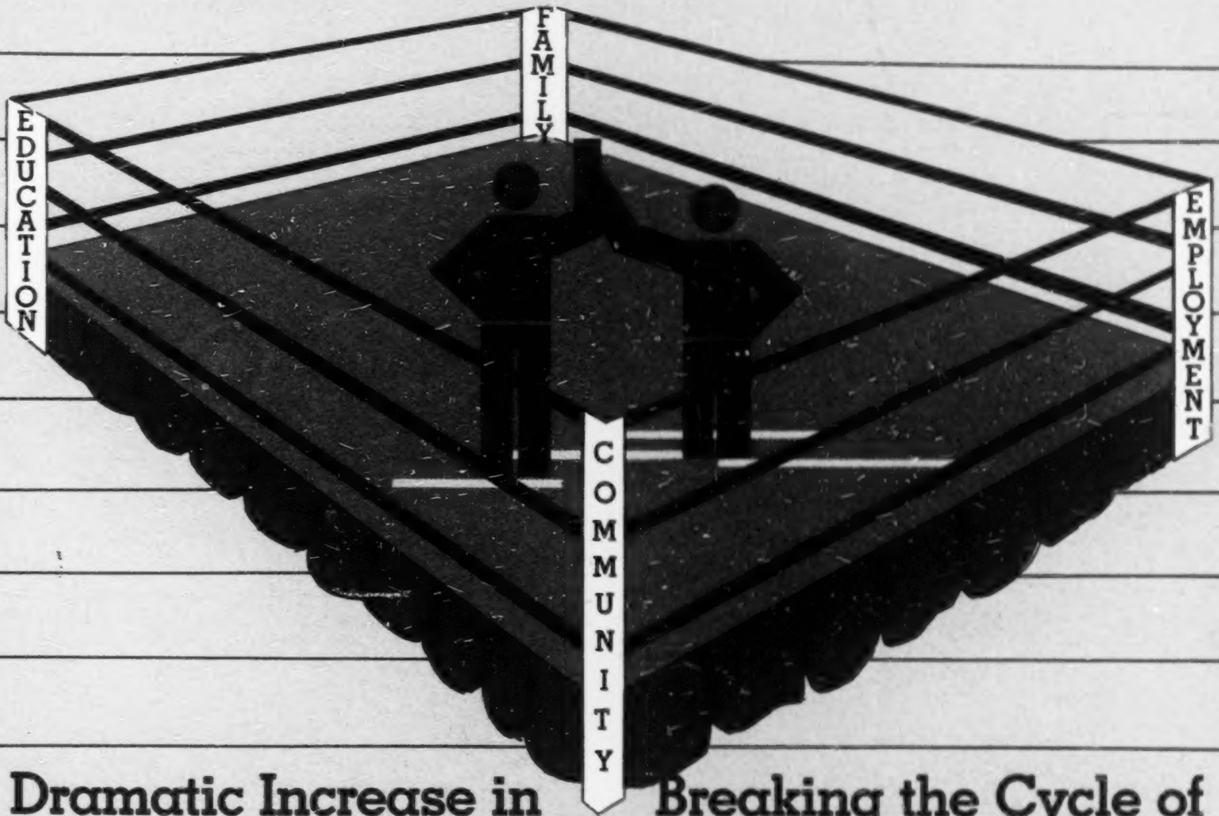
FOCUS

A Fighting Chance for Black Youth

Creative remedies can reverse bleak trends.


FAMILY
EDUCATION
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Dramatic Increase in Single Black Mothers

Why is it happening?

Breaking the Cycle of Educational Failure

Can standardized tests help?

ISSN 0740-0195 Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

In this issue of *Focus*, three prominent scholars, Bernard Gifford and Jewelle Taylor Gibbs of the University of California at Berkeley and William P. O'Hare, senior research associate at the Joint Center, describe several of the most troubling social problems facing blacks today and propose some old and new solutions.

One common theme runs through all of their articles, namely, the need to apply more of this nation's political, economic, and institutional resources toward strengthening the black family and helping to prepare black youth for productive and fulfilling lives. They also point to self-help strategies that blacks themselves must pursue.

There are no easy answers to these challenges, of course, but before we can even begin to suggest solutions, we must first define the dimensions of the problem. One of the clearest definitions I have seen was published in 1983 by thirty prominent black scholars who met in Tarrytown, New York, to explore the vast array of problems black Americans face in the closing decades of the twentieth century. In their essay, *A Policy Framework for Racial Justice*, which was published by the Joint Center and discussed in *Focus* (June 1983), they said:

> Accumulated social and economic pressures, feeding upon the long-standing effects of American racism, have produced a special crisis for the black family today. This crisis underlies many problems facing the black community, especially entrenched poverty, which is closely correlated to the pronounced vulnerability of the large and growing number of black families headed by single mothers. No strategy designed to improved the status of black Americans can ignore the central position of the black family as the natural transmitter of the care, values, and opportunities necessary for [blacks] . . . to reach their full potential as individuals.

Since the publication of *A Policy Framework*, the status of the black family has once again become a major concern of black Americans and the entire nation. This comes about almost two decades after Daniel Patrick Moynihan's controversial report on the condition of the black family and President Lyndon Johnson's speech at Howard University warning the nation that grave problems in black family structure threatened black advancement.

Such continuing concern is not misplaced, although it has not been heeded in the past to any significant degree. The rate at which black female-headed families are being added to the population increased dramatically between 1970 and 1980, averaging about 92,000 per year, but the increase since 1980 has been staggering, averaging about 167,000 per year. Among whites, the pattern contrasts sharply, with an average of 179,000 additional female-headed families each year between 1970 and 1980; but between 1980 and 1984, the average declined to 161,000 a year. Even though there are about nine times as many whites as blacks in the country, more black than white female-headed households are now being added each year.

The reason for these patterns also is significant. Among blacks, the increase results almost entirely from an increase in births, whereas for whites, female-headed households are primarily the result of separation and divorce.

The sharp differences between blacks and whites in the incidence of female-headed households is probably reflected most dramatically in the living arrangements of children. In 1984, 50.2 percent of black children lived in female-headed households compared with only 14.3 percent of white children, and the overwhelming majority were poor.

What is the problem, we ask. Is it poor education or unemployment, inadequate housing or racism? It is all of the above, and more. The problem is an insidious form of structural discrimination in my view, when you can't get a good job because you couldn't get a good education because you lived in a poor neighborhood because your family didn't earn enough money to do any better.

Solving the problem of structural discrimination requires a far more comprehensive approach than has been made yet. We must go beyond piecemeal approaches and start looking at the whole picture, to come up with comprehensive solutions.

Hopefully, today's renewed concern about the plight of the black family will lead us in this direction.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Dramatic Increase in Single Black Mothers

by William P. O'Hare

(The author is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Recent statistics reveal that the number of black families headed by women is now growing far more quickly than it did in the 1970s but for different reasons. Since black female-headed families are three times as likely to be poor as black married-couple families, the rapid growth in the number of black female-headed families has serious economic ramifications for the black community. Details of recent changes and three popular explanations for them are briefly discussed below.

Recent Changes in Black Female-Headed Families

Between 1970 and 1980, the number of black families headed by women increased by an average of about 92,000 each year; between 1980 and 1984, however, the number of black families headed by women increased by 167,000 per year.

The numbers were not the only thing that changed. The causes of the growth changed, too. Female-headed families are created in one of three ways: (1) a married couple with children break up and the mother retains custody of the children; (2) a woman has a child out of wedlock; or (3) a woman with a child is widowed. Relatively few female-headed households are the result of widowhood. Divorce and births out of wedlock are the primary mechanisms by which female-headed families are created.

Among blacks during the 1970s, out-of-wedlock births were about equal to divorce and separation in causing the increased number of families headed by women. Out-of-wedlock births accounted for 49,200 new families each year, while divorces accounted for 40,200. The number accounted for by widowhood was about 2,600.

Between 1980 and 1984, however, those rates changed dramatically. The number of black families headed by a separated or divorced woman increased by an average 11,500 a year, and that increase was counterbalanced by an equivalent drop of about 11,500 a year in the number of families headed by a widow. But the number of black families headed by women who had never married increased by an average of about 167,000 each year. In other words, the enormous increase in the number of black female-headed families in the early 1980s was almost entirely due to out-of-wedlock births.

Why Are Black Female-Headed Families Changing?

Several reasons for the increasing numbers of out-of-wedlock births among black women have been advanced. Three of the more popular ones can be labeled the welfare trap, changes in social norms, and the economics of marriage.

The first reason—the welfare trap—has been put forward for many years by both liberals and conservatives. Both groups argue that welfare policies are at least partly responsible for the increasing number of female-headed households, but they disagree on how the policies operate. Conservatives claim that the availability of benefits encourages young women to have babies out of wedlock in order to gain economic independence; liberals contend that since welfare policies withhold benefits from intact families, men are encouraged to abandon their families so their wives and children will be eligible for welfare assistance.

However, recent evidence suggests that the relationship between welfare policies and the increasing number of female-headed households is weak. If the availability of benefits really encouraged single motherhood, we would expect to find the highest proportion of female-headed families in the states with higher welfare benefits, and the smallest proportion of female-headed families in the states with lower benefits. But a study by Harvard researchers David Ellwood and Mary Jo Bane shows that states that provide relatively low levels of welfare benefits are just as likely to have a high level of female-headed families as states that provide high levels of welfare benefits. For example, the proportion of families headed by women is higher in Mississippi (16.0 percent) than in California (14.8 percent), even though Mississippi provides the lowest level of welfare benefits of any state and California provides one of the highest.

Furthermore, since the level of welfare benefits available to female-headed families fell 22 percent in real terms between 1972 and 1984, the power of that lure—if it is one—is clearly decreasing.

The second reason offered for the growth in the number of out-of-wedlock births is that social norms have changed: out-of-wedlock sex, pregnancy, and childbirth have become socially acceptable. In many neighborhoods, it is argued, out-of-wedlock births have become the rule, whereas a generation or two earlier, they were the exception. For many analysts, however, this argument seems circular because the evidence that social norms have changed is precisely the increase in out-of-wedlock births.

The third reason, often called the "economics of marriage," focuses attention on the dire economic circumstances of many black men—those who are unemployed and have slim prospects for future employment. Such men, according to this explanation, have very few of the economic resources necessary for supporting a family and therefore have little chance of attracting a wife. The dearth of marriageable black men is increasingly seen as a major factor in the growing number of black families headed by single women (see "A Fighting Chance for Black Youth," by Jewelle Taylor Gibbs, in this issue of *Focus*).

In short, the number of black female-headed households is growing even more quickly than it did in previous decades, but for different causes. The number of female-headed families created by separation, divorce, or widowhood is declining, and the number created by out-of-wedlock births is growing. That much is clear. But the reasons for the phenomenon are not yet fully understood, nor—more importantly—do we know what to do about it. Since the trend points to added hardships for black families, and particularly black children, it is imperative that we continue our search for answers that can be used to develop constructive policies and programs. ■

A Fighting Chance for Black Youth

by Jewelle Taylor Gibbs

(The author is acting associate professor, School of Social Welfare, University of California at Berkeley. This article is based on a speech she gave in New York City on May 16, 1985, at the Annual Civil Rights Institute, sponsored by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.)

Most of us are familiar with the problems black youth are having today, since many of those problems have been present in the black community for decades. But now those problems seem to be increasing and, at the same time, are aggravating a newer one: the problem of black families headed by young women, a large percentage of whom are trapped in poverty.

I will briefly review the "traditional" problems of black youth, will then sketch in the dimensions of the more recent problem of the growing numbers of families headed by women, and will relate the old problems to the new one. Finally, I will offer some solutions. If current trends are to be reversed, the critical areas to address are education, employment, juvenile delinquency, and teenage pregnancy. Actions to affect education and employment depend mainly on public initiative, whereas programs to prevent juvenile delinquency and teenage pregnancy may be undertaken by private groups—and it is to those two latter areas that my proposals here are directed.

Lack of Education, Lack of Employment, and Delinquency

A national study of high-school students in 1975 classified 42 percent of black 17-year-olds as functional illiterates, compared with 8 percent of white 17-year-olds. In 1980, nearly 20 percent of blacks between the ages of 15 and 24 did not have a high school diploma, and many could not read at fourth-grade level.

Moreover, among black teenagers for the past 20 years, the rate of unemployment (40-50 percent) has been two to three times the rate of unemployment among white teenagers. In March 1985 the unemployment rate for blacks aged 16 to 19 was 43 percent; for whites in the same age group, it was 15 percent.

Teenagers who are out of school and out of work are more likely to become involved in crime. In 1980, black juveniles committed 51 percent of all violent crimes, yet they accounted for less than 20 percent of the youth population.

Female-Headed Families

Recently, scholars and politicians have been decrying the rise in the percentage of black households headed by women. In 1960, 22 percent of all black households were headed by women; in 1970, 28 percent; and in 1983, *42 percent*. The main causes of this increase are the relatively low rate of remarriage among divorced or widowed mothers and an epidemic of childbearing by single teenagers. Nearly one-third of all single black females have a child before the age of 20.

This trend is troublesome because, according to recent statistics, 57 percent of black female-headed households have incomes below the poverty line, compared with 31 percent of white female-headed households. Even more troubling are indications that in 1982, nearly three out of every four poor black families were headed by women.

The Marriageable Pool Index

The problems of poor education, high unemployment, and delinquency are not "male problems." Unemployment, in fact, is even more prevalent among black women than among black men. But those problems affect men and women differently. They keep men from assuming the responsibilities of parenthood, whereas no matter what, if a woman becomes pregnant and decides to keep her baby, she has no choice but to assume the responsibilities of parenthood.

Sociologists William Wilson and Kathryn Neckerman of the University of Chicago recently analyzed the relationship between some of the problems of black youth and the increase in the number of households headed by black women, and presented their findings in a paper entitled "Poverty and Family Structure: The Widening Gap between Evidence and Public Policy Issues." After examining demographic trends in employment and in family patterns since before World War II, they concluded that the increase in the number of black female-headed households is strongly associated with the deteriorating participation of black men in the labor market. For example, the participation rate of black men in the labor force declined from 84 percent in 1940 to 67 percent in 1980. This decline was especially dramatic among black men aged 18 to 19: their participation in the labor force fell from 75.7 percent in 1955 to 50.2 percent in 1983. Among 20-to 24-year-old black men, the labor force participation rate also declined, from 88.5 percent in 1940 to 73.5 percent in 1980.

Wilson and Neckerman devised a "marriageable pool index," which is the ratio of employed single civilian men to single women of the same race and age. If black males between the ages of 16 and 24 who are unemployed or incarcerated are subtracted from the black male population, the index shows that from 1960 to 1982 the ratio of black males to black females sharply declined. For example, in the 20- to 24-year-old age group, Wilson and Neckerman estimated that in 1982 there were only 47 employed single black men for every 100 single black women—down from 69 for every 100 in 1960. If we look at the 25- to 34-year-old age group, the corresponding figures were 59 employed single black men for every 100 single black women in 1982—down from 68 for every 100 in 1960. Thus, for blacks in the 20- to 34-year-old range, which is the prime period for marriage and family formation in the United States, the ratio of marriageable men to single women has become very unfavorable. The proportion of young black men who are eligible to support a family has declined absolutely over the long term.

Inability to support a family, however, does not mean unwillingness to father children. Greater numbers of young black men may be unable or unwilling to marry and support a family, but sexual activity does not decline on that account. Wilson and Neckerman thus make a compelling argument that the shortage of young black marriageable men strongly contributes to the increase in out-of-wedlock births. In other words, the exacerbation of the "traditional" problems and the development of the new problem are interconnected.

Although much of the concern about the increasing incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancy has appropriately focused on the plight of the unwed teenage mother, we also need to consider the traditional problems faced by many black teenage fathers—not only their poor education and low levels of employment, but also their high rates of delinquency and crime. These problems must be addressed and, in addition, measures must be taken to encourage sexual responsibility so that young adult black males will be able to function effectively as heads of households.

To Reduce Delinquency and Drug and Alcohol Abuse

Several studies have shown that links exist between lack of education and low levels of employment, on the one hand, and juvenile delinquency and substance abuse, on the other hand. Those studies suggest that strategies to prevent delinquency and drug and alchohol abuse among black youth should be directed toward keeping teens in school and securing regular employment for those who are not in school. But several more-direct approaches might also be effective in reducing delinquency and substance abuse, if they are aimed at the appropriate target groups, are adequately financed, and are supported by a broad coalition of community groups. Such approaches might include the following:

- increasing the number of recreational, educational, and cultural facilities and programs in inner-city neighborhoods after school and on weekends, with black churches encouraged to donate their facilities and enlist their retired members as volunteer tutors, child-care workers, group leaders, and counselors;
- establishing neighborhood "watch groups" to monitor communities for suspicious or criminal behavior, with anonymous "hot lines" for reporting drug dealers and other illegal activities;
- involving black youth in community clean-up campaigns, escort services for the elderly, and other constructive alternatives to lounging on street corners;
- providing comprehensive services for black teenagers who are truants or runaways, are emotionally disturbed, or are from "multiproblem families";
- introducing educational programs on drug and alcohol abuse in inner-city elementary schools, with peer counseling, parental involvement, and cooperation among schools, social agencies, and the juvenile justice system;
- increasing funding for, or preventing cutbacks in, the prevention and rehabilitation projects authorized by the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act; significant features to prevent delinquency are also included in the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act, the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act, and the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act.

To Prevent Teenage Parenthood

Reducing the levels of delinquency and substance abuse may be an indirect way to decrease the number of pregnancies among unmarried teenage girls. Direct efforts are also being made, but most of them are aimed at adolescent females. Equally imperative is the need to focus attention on young black males. Males who become fathers during their teens are more likely to complete fewer years of schooling, achieve a lower occupational status, earn lower wages, and have more spells of unemployment than their peers who do not father children. Preventive and early intervention strategies might include—

- Sex education programs in grades K-12 that provide accurate and appropriate information to males as well as females. The Family Life Education Program recently approved by the New York State Department of Education provides a flexible curriculum that can be adapted to local community needs, values, and interests. Early indications are that in districts where this program has been implemented, teenage pregnancy rates have dropped.
- Adolescent health clinics, which provide comprehensive health care and family planning and contraceptive services that are easily accessible and, if not free, very inexpensive. School-based clinics (such as those in St. Paul, Minn.) and community-based clinics (such as the Young Adult Clinic at Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center in New York City) offer innovative and flexible services that include health education, outreach, and counseling. Such programs have been effective in reducing pregnancy rates.
- Peer counseling about sexual attitudes and behavior in youth groups, such as the Boy Scouts and Boys' Clubs. One demonstration project in a black church in Washington, D.C., pairs adult males (who serve as counselors and role models) and young males from the same neighborhood, with the goal of delaying sexual activity and promoting sexual responsibility.
- Educational and career counseling that emphasizes achievement, career aspirations, and personal "fate control," since studies have shown a relationship between these factors and female adolescents' decisions to delay sexual activity. Programs such as Choices, developed by the Girls' Club of America, and the Life Planning Curriculum developed by the Center for Population Options in Washington, D.C., address the interrelationship between sexual decision-making, personal values and behaviors, and future vocational options.
- Teen parenting programs that encourage the participation of teenage fathers as well as mothers. This increases fathers' involvement with their children and helps them develop a sense of shared responsibility for their children's welfare. The Teenage Pregnancy and Parenting Program sponsored by the San Francisco General Hospital offers comprehensive services to teen fathers, including counseling, job referral, and follow-up support services.
- Community awareness projects that try to redirect the values of black teenagers so that they will engage less in early sexual experimentation and focus more on education, acquisition of skills through part-time work or volunteer activities, and constructive recreational and social activities. Black churches and community groups could cooperate with the Children's Defense Fund in the fund's nationwide efforts to encourage black youth to delay sexual activity and to prevent teenage pregnancy.

In 20 years, the young men and women of today, black and white, are the people our country will be depending on to assume adult leadership responsi-

(Continued on page 7)

Breaking the Cycle of Educational Failure

by Bernard R. Gifford

(The author is dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of California at Berkeley. This article is reprinted with permission from Education Week, *Volume 4, Number 26, March 20, 1985.)*

As the use of standardized tests to screen prospective teachers spreads across the country, minority applicants are failing at a disproportionately high rate. Critics argue that the increased use of testing is inherently racist and counterproductive. But I disagree. If we devalue standardized tests, we are evading the serious issues raised by high minority failing rates—and that will only perpetuate the problems all of us are seeking to solve.

California has recently increased its reliance on testing and the state's story is instructive, reflecting the national experience. Since 1983, prospective teachers in California have been required to take the California Basic Educational Skills Test (CBEST), which evaluates *basic* skills in mathematics, reading, and writing. Candidates take the CBEST for diagnostic purposes before they can be admitted to a teacher-education program, and they must pass the exam before receiving certification. Prospective teachers who have not successfully completed an approved sequence of academic courses are also required to score above a minimum cut-off on the National Teacher Examination (NTE) in order to enter the profession.

Effects of Tests on Minorities

California's testing program, like that of other states, has received some rather harsh criticism. Among those most reluctant to endorse the growing reliance on standardized examinations are groups sensitive to the unique problems confronting prospective teachers from minority backgrounds.

The reluctance of these groups is understandable, given the tests' effects on minorities nationwide. In California, of the 6,644 minority candidates who took the first CBEST in 1983, 3,854, or 58 percent, failed. The highest failure rate was among blacks. Of the 2,040 blacks who took the exam, only 530 were able to proceed with their plans to be teachers, a paltry 26 percent. For other minority groups, the test results were not much better: only 834 (39 percent) of 2,133 Mexican-Americans and 637 (50 percent) of 1,259 Asian-Americans passed. In comparison, the passing rate for whites was 76 percent, with 18,856 of the 24,540 whites who took the exam passing.

The rates of failure on these examinations reflect two ominous trends: the decline in interest in teaching on the part of many well-educated students, especially talented minority students, and the failure of the colleges and universities to guarantee that their graduates, including many minority graduates, can read with comprehension, write literately, and perform routine mathematical computations.

The problems associated with these high minority failure rates are made all the more serious by our increasing need for qualified black, Hispanic, and Asian-American teachers at a time of rapid demographic change. A large and increasing proportion of public-school students in California and a number of other states are minority youngsters, and demographers expect this picture to continue into the next century.

If present trends continue, the supply of minority teachers will nose-dive, a result that is as disturbing as it is unacceptable. Equally serious is the prospect that when minority-group pupils, especially those contemplating teaching careers, learn that many prospective minority teachers are judged not good enough to teach, they may lose confidence in their own abilities and conclude that the teaching profession is "off limits" to minorities. Also, minority students, who desperately need to see successful role models, would be denied access, yet again, to exemplars of success.

In Support of Minimum-Competency Standards

The first reaction of many to these test results is to cry "racism." They insist that "alternative" certification standards be adopted for minority-group teaching candidates in order to take into account their different experiences and qualifications. Otherwise, the argument goes, the promises of democracy and equality will once again be placed in great jeopardy. I disagree with such a view. We must support minimum-competency standards. We must insist that *all* prospective teachers demonstrate mastery of basic skills in reading, writing, and mathematics.

Many have argued that exams like CBEST are culturally biased, heavily skewed in favor of pupils from middle-class homes. This may well be the case. But the solution is not to throw out standardized examinations. We must insist instead that every attempt be made to rid these exams of their invalid features.

We must also insist that public officials, in and out of the educational establishment, develop, fund, vigorously monitor, and evaluate school-improvement programs designed to help minority pupils become more competitive on examinations such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the CBEST. Here again, targeted programs make more sense as a means to close the performance gap between low-income and middle-income students than proposals to discontinue the SAT or CBEST. We must not accept and thereby institutionalize dual standards for minority and nonminority students.

Ensuring Qualified Minority Teachers

It is clear that we must interrupt the cycle of minority-pupil failure and take direct action to provide all students in our public schools with high-quality education that is responsive to their real needs. We cannot begin this effort without well-qualified minority teachers. To meet the challenge we face, we need to take steps to ensure a larger pool of qualified minority teachers, while also maintaining and improving standards of teacher quality.

How can we achieve this goal? The following comprehensive program, which is currently under consideration by the California state legislature, comprises my three-step plan to address this imbalance. It includes proposals for identifying early in their education minority and low-income students who have a commitment to teaching; providing these students with intensive university and post-graduate training; and instituting programs and rewards for outstanding effective teachers—nonminority as well as minority—once they are in the classroom.

As early as high school, students who have expressed interest in teaching as a career would be selected to participate in a special university-level preprofessional program. Admission considerations would include students' potential for growth and eagerness to learn in addition to the traditional criteria of grades and past achievements. Special efforts would be made to recruit students with a background or interest in areas of particular need, such as mathematics, science, or language and literacy. The program would require a five-year university course of study leading to the bachelor's degree and would provide a series of paid school-year and summer teaching internships. Interns could work for, and learn from, master or mentor teachers to the mutual benefit of both.

Upon selection, students would take a series of diagnostic tests to identify subject-area strengths and weaknesses. In conjunction with regular studies, they would then enroll in a series of tutorials to work on skill development in their weakest areas. These tutorials would be an integrated part of an undergraduate liberal-arts program leading to the bachelor's degree and would cover reading and basic mathematics, with heavy emphasis on reasoning skills and good, clear writing. At the end of two years, the students would be tested to measure their growth. A second individualized study program, again based on skill levels, would then be developed and the process intensified over the next three years.

After receiving their bachelor's degrees, students would be guaranteed admission to participating California State University or University of California Graduate School of Education programs, where they would enroll as regular students. Graduate scholarships covering student fees would be provided to all of these students with an undergraduate grade-point average of B or better. Partial tuition scholarships would be available to high-achievement students. Again, as in the first phase of this program, paid internships would be provided to all qualified students for the duration of their postgraduate teacher-training studies.

Any such effort to increase the pool of qualified minority teachers must be followed up with an equally vigorous effort to improve the placement and retention of teachers in schools with large minority populations. This means that we must work to end those "alternative teacher-selection processes" in which teachers with less experience, no advanced degrees, and lower salaries are assigned to schools with high proportions of minority and low-income pupils. To put it more bluntly, these "alternative" efforts have often resulted in pupils with the greatest needs being relegated to classes taught by inexperienced teachers who are themselves in great need of support and guidance from more experienced teachers. Moreover, while successful in increasing minority employment opportunities, alternative selection programs have in too many instances operated as restricted racial conduits, steering newly hired minority teachers whose qualifications have been earned through alternative means into almost exclusively minority schools. We cannot allow this situation to continue; it is to the detriment of all.

The third step of my program addresses the need to identify and reward good teachers after they have been in the classroom for a few years and to provide incentives for them to remain. I propose a new test as the basis for certifying outstanding individuals as "master teachers." To be taken after at least five years of full-time public-school teaching, the test would measure not only subject-matter competency but also knowledge and application of learning theory, and an ability to implement effective teaching strategies in the classroom.

The test would evaluate a teacher's professional judgment and ability to diagnose needs of students, match instruction and use of material to those needs, and evaluate pupil progress. It would not be solely a pencil-and-paper exercise; applicants would also be required to demonstrate their instructional skills in a natural setting.

This test would be to teaching what the Certified Public Accountant's examination is to accounting. It would be voluntary, leading to certification as a master-level teacher—and, therefore, to new opportunities for professional advancement. As in the case of CPA-level accountants, these master-level teachers would be compensated accordingly. The test should be available on a nationwide basis, thereby expanding the job market for master-level teachers and helping those outstanding educators who saw themselves in "dead-end" positions seek advancement beyond both district and state. Moreover, school districts using the test would be able to allocate teaching talent on a more equitable basis within their districts.

In all fairness, I must acknowledge the pain and suffering experienced by those not now armed with the knowledge and skills required to pass present minimum-competency exams. Certainly, we need to increase the number of minority teachers. But we must keep in mind that the effectiveness of our schools cannot be measured simply by statistics on the racial composition of teaching staffs. School effectiveness must be measured by statistics reflecting the mastery of basic skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic by all of our students.

What I have proposed here may bring a short transitional period of disappointment for some who will be locked out of teacher-training programs or certification. But the benefits will outweigh the costs; it will finally put a stop to "victim-blaming" measures that have created more problems each time they have been applied. What education needs now is not more exceptions to standards but more flexible and imaginative programs to ensure that, in more and more cases, the standards themselves can be met. Our children, our teachers, and our society deserve at least that.

A Fighting Chance . . .

(Continued from page 5)

bilities, support the social security system, manage the bureaucracy, and bring up the next generation.

Our society cannot afford to throw away or write off one-fifth of its youth. You've heard it many times before, but it's worth repeating: "Our children are our future." And there is no doubt that this nation has the political, economic, social, and personal resources to help all our children approach their full potential. But we must act now! Together, we can give black youth a fighting chance. ■

Telescope

New JCPS Publication on Minorities and the Labor Market

The Joint Center has just published a study of how minorities are affected by policies that deal with the problems of structural unemployment. *Minorities and the Labor Market: Twenty Years of Misguided Policy*, written by Richard McGahey and John Jeffries, research associates at the Urban Research Center of New York University, examines various efforts made during the past 20 years to deal with the problems of structural unemployment, from the Manpower Development and Training Act of the early 1960s through the Reagan administration's Job Training and Partnership Act. The authors also examine the specific employment problems of blacks. Their conclusion is that past approaches to structural unemployment all suffered from the same flaw: a failure to recognize that the employment problems of blacks and other minorities are different from those of white males and therefore require different solutions.

Copies of *Minorities and the Labor Market* are available from the Joint Center for $5.95 each.

Labor Force Highlights

High unemployment is one of the most insidious problems confronting black Americans. It is a problem that demands constant attention and action. Therefore, *Focus* is beginning a series of "Labor Force Highlights" to keep readers apprised of periodic changes in the unemployment and labor force participation rates.

Listed below are the unemployment and labor force participation rates of blacks and whites, by age and sex, for August 1985. The unemployment rate measures the percentage of the labor force that is unemployed. The labor force participation rate measures the percentage of the total noninstitutionalized population that is employed or seeking work. The figures below have been "seasonally adjusted"—that is, the changes in these indices that result from seasonal events have been factored out. An example of such changes is the jump in teenage participation rates caused solely by the influx into the labor force of students seeking summer employment. Seasonally adjusted rates reflect economic factors alone rather than the impact of temporary changes in the supply of labor.

Also presented below are the changes in these indices since last year and last month. The unemployment rate for blacks declined by 1.8 points over the past year, whereas the rate for whites declined by 0.2 points. The unemployment rate for blacks continues to be more than double the rate for whites. The labor force participation rate for whites increased by 0.4 points since last year, whereas for blacks it declined by 0.3 points. The increase for whites was highest among women; the decrease for blacks was highest among men.

Labor Force Statistics for the Month of August 1985

	Blacks				Whites			
Age	Total 16+	Men 20+	Women 20+	Teens 16-19	Total 16+	Men 20+	Women 20+	Teens 16-19
Unemployment Rate	14.0	11.8	13.2	34.4	6.2	5.3	5.7	15.3
Change from last year	−1.8	−2.3	−.6	−6.9	−.2	−.2	−.2	−.7
Change from last month	−1.0	−.8	0	−4.6	−.2	−.3	0	−1.0
Labor Force Participation Rate	62.3	74.2	58.0	38.8	64.8	78.3	54.0	55.9
Change from last year	−.3	−1.2	−.1	0	+.4	−.3	+.9	+.4
Change from last month	−.5	0	−.1	−3.6	−.1	+.1	+.1	+.2

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
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